## India Now

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This PDF is prepared by Sukhwant Hundal in memory of his father Shivdev S. Hundal and mother Harbans Kaur Hundal.

Source: Sukhwant Hundal's personal collections

## INDIA NOY

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## Indira Takes Punjab under **Direct Control**

KISHAN BAJWA

The government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took direct control of Punjab on Oct. 6 night by dismissing Congress(1) government of Darbara Singh and imposing President's rule in the state. Punjab and the union territory of Chandigarh have been declared "disturbed" areas with paramilitary forces and army assuming unlimited powers to shoot on sight, detain people without any formalities, search premises without warrant and destroy hideouts.

Indira Gandhi also replaced the Governor of Punjab AP Sharma and appointed her confidante BD Pande to the post. Pande had been serving as the governor of West Bengal and is considered a close associate of Gandhi. He also served as Gandhi's cabinet secretary during the 19 months of the emergency period. Earlier, the Gandhi government had moved PS Bhinder, another close associate of the Gandhi family and a notorious figure of the Emergency period, from Delhi to take over the charge of the police force in

The government actions which followed reports of members of a militant Sikh faction killing 6 Hindu passengers on a bus and two Hindu officials on a train on Oct. 5, have however not been able to curb incidents of sporadic violence which have continued. Following the imposition of the President's rule, over 20 people have been killed and many injured in bomb blasts at a Dussehra festival in Chandigarh, Delhi railway station, cinema theaters and other public places in Delhi and Punjab. Prior to Oct. 6, at least 20 people had been killed and many wounded in communal violence. Another 12 died and hundreds injured in the third week of Oct. because of derailment of a passenger train near Patiala; the police has blamed Sikh extremists for the sabotage. Among the victims, 8 were seasonal laborers from Bihar. There was also an incident of bomb attack on a Hindu temple in Ludhiana on Oct. 16 in which 2 people

Though the Akali Dal has kept the

the state government and central government offices and institutions, Sikh extremists have consistently directed their violence against the general population and Nirankaris in public places and Hindu temples and places of worship. This pattern has been observed earlier also. Almost all acts of violence and attacks in recent weeks by Sikh extremists have been directed against Hindus and have taken place in public places.

#### EXTREMIST ATTACKS CONDEMNED

The president of Akali Dal Harchand Singh Longowal denounced the attacks by Sikh extremists and called for stern action against those responsible for the recent spate of bombings. In a statement issued on Oct 17, Longowal declared that the government could not absolve itself "of responsibility to maintain law and order by putting the blame on extremists for every act of violence in the state." Longowal went on to say, that people ought to show due respect and veneration

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## **Farmworkers Sue**

The Canadian Farmworkers Union has filed a suit in the British Columbia Su-preme Court to force the Workers Compensation Board to enforce health and safety regulations on farms in the province. The BC Federation of Labor has joined the union in the lawsult.

The suit complains that WCB has exempted farms from complying with health and safety regulations. The suit cites a booklet, Farmworkers and the WCB, issued by the board in March as evidence. The booklet says the farming industry would not be covered by industrial health

The suit asking for a court-enforced order is backed by detailed accounts of how two farmworkers suffered injuries because of the absence of health and

Basta Grewel was operating an electric spraying machine on a mushroom farm in Matsqui in February. As he lifted the machine, an unguarded switch was activated. The machine's tilting blades engaged and severely gouged Grewel's abdomen and chest.

#### **Compensation Board** Our Vancouver Correspondent

and safety regulations for a year.

safety regulations.

The second incident involved Luc Gaouette who in June was spraying a farm in Rutland with paraquat, a chemical. He was not provided with goggles or given instructions on the handling of chemicals. He was sprayed in the face

## **Nobel Prize for**

V. KUMAR

Chandrasekhar

Prof. S.Chandrasekhar has been awarded the 1983 Nobel prize in physics for his contributions in astrophysics. The award is a belated recognition on the part of the Nobel Committee of Prof. Chandrasekhar's outstanding achievements in the theory of stellar structure, since the work for which he was cited was done almost 50 years ago.



By any standard of reckoning, Prof.

Chandrasekhar is among the greatest theoretical scientists of the 20th century. His contributions to physics and astrophysics are, to put it simply, immense. In every field that he has worked in, from stellar evolution to magnetohydrodynamics and, most recently, general relativity, he has made basic and outstanding contributions which are likely to stand the test of time. If his work has not received more public recognition, it is largely because he has chosen to work in the most mathematically abstruse and difficult areas of the subject, shunning the more flashy and fashionable themes which promise quick rewards and recognition. In fact, in an era of the late 20th century when physics has been dominated by multibillion dollar budgets and large teams of scientists working on single projects, Prof. Chandrasekhar is something of an anachronism; he is cast more in the mould of the classical 19th

century scientist working unaided and alone in the pursuit of basic knowledge. Born at Lahore in 1910, he was edu-

cated at Presidency College, Madras, where he received his undergraduate degree. Soon after, he left for Cambridge in England where he completed his work on stellar evolution, which was cited in the Nobel award. An interesting story often related, while he was in England, concerns a presentation he made at a scientific meeting in 1935 where he demonstrated theoretically that a large star contracting under its own gravitation would reach a density so large that no radiation could escape from it; thus the star would become truly unobservable, a sort of "black hole." Sir Arthur Eddington, the famous astronomer, who was present at

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### Untouchability Conference in New York

#### 4-Day Meeting to Compare Blacks in US with Dalits

DALIT INTELLECTUALS COMING FROM INDIA

A major conference is about to take place in New York in the second week of November. Scholars from around the world are gathering for four days to give their views on the condition, struggles and strategies of two major minorities -Blacks in the US and dalits in India. A number of people are coming from India to participate in the four-day confer-

The meetings will be held at the City University of New York (33 West 42 St) on November 10 and at the School of International Affairs, Columbia University, on November 11-13. There will be ten two-and-a-half hour sessions, each focusing on a particular topic. Besides, Thursday evening will be devoted to poetry and Friday and Saturday evenings to two films.

#### THURSDAY

The Thursday morning session is on Cultural Transformations: Redefining Self and Society, featuring Dr Marguerite Ross Barnett (CUNY), Robert Chrisman (editor of Black Scholar), Vasant Moon (Bombay), Dr Eleanor Zelliot (Carleton) and Dr Robert Miller (Wisconsin).

The afternoon session is on Oppression: Experiences and Religious Responses, featuring Dr Mark Juergensmeyer (Berkeley), Rajesh Sidhartha (VI-SION), Dr Kevin O'Neil (American Buddhist), Dr Beatrice Miller (Wisconsin) and Dr Michael Moffatt (Rutgers).

In the evening, there will be "Dalit": Poetry of the Oppressed from East and West - poetry readings led by Robert Chrisman and Dr Gangadhar Pantawane (Aurangabad).

#### FRIDAY

The morning session on Friday Nov-

ember 12 is on Minority Political Economy: Problems and Perspectives, featuring Dr Shanti Tangri (Rutgers), Dr Charles Anderson (Texas Southern), Bertram Fisher (New York), Dr N.D.Kamble (Bangalore), and Dr K.N.Raj (Triv-

The afternoon session is on Strategies for Equalizing Minority Opportunities, with Franklin Williams (Phelps-Stokes), Norman Hill (A.Philip Randolph), Dr Lelah Dushkin (Kansas State Univ.), Dr R.M.Ambewadikar (Aurangabad), Dr Frank Upham (Boston College) and Dr Philip Green (Smith).

In the evening, the film, An Indian Story, will be shown with discussion led by Achyut Yagnik (Ahmedabad) as the first part of Violence Vs. Equality.

#### SATURDAY

One morning session on Saturday November 12 is on Women: "Minority" within the Minority, with LaFrancis Rodgers-Rose (Princeton), Dr Gail Omvedt (Maharashtra), Dr Shakuntala Varhade, Dr Joan Mencher (CUNY) and Dr Shree Mulay (Montreal).

A simultaneous session is on Minorities in the Political Process, with Dr Ronald Walters (Howard Univ.), Weldon Rougeau (American Express), Dr Barbara Joshi (New York) and Dr Anil Bhatt (Ahmedabad).

One afternoon session will be on Literature as Cultural Transformation, with Dr Robin Lewis (Columbia), Dr John Wright (Carleton), Dr Gangadhar Pantawane (Aurangabad), Amiri Baraka (Black playwright), Louise Merriwether (author), Dr Jayashree Gokhale (Delaware) and Dr Eleanor Zelliot (Carleton).

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## Who Gains from the Madness

KISHAN BAJWA

The Gandhi government imposed the President's rule in Punjab, declared Punjab and Chandigarh "disturbed area" after dismissing Congress(I) government of Darbara Singh which had essentially become ineffective for several months. Even before dismissal, Darbara Singh had to rush for every major decision to New Delhi to ask the Madam and her cohorts for approval.

This action of the central government is a clear indication of Indira Gandhi's failure in reaching a political solution to the agitation in Punjab for greater autonomy and more share of river waters. The circumstances in which the President's rule has been imposed also underscore the failure of the Akali Dal in curbing the communal and sectarian hatred that has brewed over the past 2 years between Hindus and Sikhs who until then, had been living in this land of great Sikh gurus in harmony for over 500 years. Who is responsible for this madness - a handful of extremists who were encouraged initially by none other than Gandhi's party including President Zail Singh, and now the Sants, especially Bhindranwale and many Akali leaders. Some of the Hindu leaders cannot be spared of the blame either for adding fuel to the fire.

The President's rule has been welcomed by all opposition parties including the Akali Dal because they consider this move as the failure of Darbara Singh government. But Gandhi has anoth-

in Punjab?

er plan. She wants to emerge as the savior of Hindus and others who have been alienated from the Akali agitation and who are scared of the continued madness to which there seems to be no end. Using the tactic of divide and rule which served Congress(1) well in Assam in early February at the cost of thousands of lives, and more recently in Jammu and Kashmir, Gandhi government has deliberately prolonged the crisis to create dissension among Akali leaders to erode their influence as well as to divide the Hindu and Sikhs community. Harchand Singh Longowal and Prakash Singh Badal have been crippled by Bhindranwale and alike; moderate Akali leadership has landed itself in troubled waters by neither dealing firmly with extremists nor secularizing their agitation. And, once again Indira Gandhi is going to use the situation to her advant-

If the Akali Dal is to avoid losing its political influence, its leadership must abandon the religious approach toward the Punjab agitation and do its utmost to convince the non-communal sections of the population that they would like to develop a coalition of Punjabis — Hindus, Sikhs, Nirankaris, and Muslims-to agitate for the rights of all Punjabis instead of only Sikhs. Hindus must also not be trapped into communal propaganda being done by Hindu Sangathans being floated by Indira Congress and other communal forces.

# Indira Takes Punjab under (continued from page 1) Direct Control

for places of worship and added that no true Sikh could attack a Hindu temple or a Muslim mosque. Longowal also supported the call for a general strike given by Hindu leaders following the killings of 6

Hindu passengers in a bus on Oct &

Longowal had earlier welcomed the President's rule. The Akali Dal as well as the opposition parties had been demanding that the central government take direct control of the state by imposing the President's rule for a long time because they felt that the Darbara Singh government was not able to administer. However, Indira Gandhi did not pay any attention to their demand.

The Akali Dal leaders as well as the opposition leaders however denounced the tough decrees imposed by the Center in which the police, paramilitary forces and army have been granted unprecedented powers. Longowal added, "The emergency is indirectly being imposed again in Punjab to misuse the police and army."

#### BHINDRAWALE BLAMES INDIRA

The extremist Sikh leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale is reported to have said that the violence that occurred on Oct. 6 and resulted in the killings of 8 Hindus was part of the government's plan to malign the Sikhs and sabotage their agitation. Bhindranwale told Sikhs gathered in the Harmandir Sahib Temple in Amritsar that they should prepare themselves for a long struggle.

#### AKALI AGITATION

The Akali Dal led by Longowal has been agitating for demands including religious concessions, greater autonomy for the state, merger of Chandigarh and other surrounding Punjabi-speaking territories into Punjab, and better share of river waters for over 2 years. The Akali agitation took an organized form in August last year when they started courting arrests to impress upon the Indira government to accept their charter of 40 demands. Indira government went into a series of negotiations with Akali leaders but they were called off by the government

because of a lack of a policy and as a way to create dissension among the Akali leaders to erode their influence.

#### OPPOSITION CALLS FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION

Meanwhile, in its third meeting at Srinagar, leaders of 16 opposition parties stressed that the imposition of the President's rule alone could not solve the Punjab crisis. They called upon the Gandhi government to find an early political solution to problems of Punjab.

In a resolution adopted at the end of a 3-day conference the opposition conclave, which was attended by 5 chief ministers, warned the Gandhi government against attempts to topple elected governments in states. The National Conference leader and Jammu and Kashmir chief minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah said that the national unity and integrity were their most cherished goals but they could be achieved only by harmonizing the contending needs of the people in different regions.

The BJP and Lok Dal did not attend the opposition summit. The BJP had not attended the second meeting held in Delhi.

#### GANDHI WANTED DARBARA OUT

Kuldip Nayar has reported that it was Indira Gandhi herself who recommended that the Darbara Singh government be dismissed and the President's rule be imposed. Earlier Gandhi had been opposed to efforts by President Zail Singh, party leaders in Punjab and Rajiv Gandhi to have Darbara Singh out. According to Nayar, Gandhi recently got convinced that Darbara Singh had been keeping her in the dark about the real situation in Puniab. Gandhi learned that an alleged extremist Sukhjinder Singh had been holding meetings with Darbara Singh and that Akali Patrika editor Parphur Singh Balbir was alloted a plot of land out of the government's discretionary quota. Both Sukhjinder Singh and Parphur Singh have been arrested for their anti-state and communal activities following the imposition of the President's rule.

## **Communal Riots in Hyderabad**

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER

Hyderabad riots warrant serious notice. According to official figures, more than 45 people have died and 150 have been injured, in stabbing incidents. Unofficial figures put the number of dead as more than 70 and of those injured as more than 200. The riot started on September 7 in the current phase and continued until the end of the month.

#### BACKGROUND

Hyderabad is a middle-sized city with a population of 2.6 million according to the 1981 census with 40% of the population being Muslim. It also has a history of communal conflict.

The communal organizations play on the past bitter memories whenever it suits them. BJP, Arya Samaj and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) among the Hindus, and the Majlis-e-Ittihadul Muslimin among the Muslims appeal mainly to communal sentiments and raise communal tensions to the threshold of communal violence on the eve of elections or religious festivals. All this is done calculatedly to consolidate their position among the respective communities. The main center of the communal conflict is the old city because in this part, there are on the one hand mostly poor and illiterate Muslims, and on the other hand, lower middle class, petty trading Hindus, living side by side. Most of the properties vacated by Muslims during the police action in 1948 were bought or occupied by Hindus belonging to these categories. These sections of the society are much more susceptible to communal propaganda. The Majlis-e-Ittihadul Muslimin has its following mainly among the poor and illiterate Muslims of the old city and the BJP and the RSS among the petty bourgeois sections of the Hindus in the same area.

There is some degree of prosperity among 3 Muslim communities in Hyderabad, the Khojas, Bohras, and Memons, all of them trading communities. A large number of Muslims have gone to the Middle East and remit money back home. But because of the strong feudal traditions still prevailing among Muslims, most of these remittances are spent on conspicuous consumption, not invested in trade or industry. In Hyderabad, Muslims have not emerged as competitors to the Hindus in trade or industry. The economic factor is not of much consequence in aggravating communal tension as it is in some other cities like Moradabad, Meerut, Biharsharif, Benaras and Aligarh. Here the primary factor appears to be political.

In the old city, where Muslims are roughly 40% of the population, there is tough competition in any election between the BJP and Majlis. The last riots had also erupted during the Assembly election. Then as now, the main parties responsible for the riots were the BIP and the Majlis. Both parties contend for seats from the constituencies of the old city. There are at present 7 Muslim MLAs in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, 5 of whom belong to the Majlis and 2 to the Telugu Desam. All the 5 Majlis MLAs have been elected from the old city whereas the 2 Telugu Desam Muslim MLAs won from the suburban constituencies of Hyderabad.

#### INCIDENTS

The BJP and the VHP, taking advantage of the Ganeshutsav festival, started aggressive communal propaganda. Big cloth banners were put up on a number of places on which it was inscribed "Implement Nagarkoil Resolution. Declare India a Hindu Republic." The Ganeshutsav was also celebrated with fanfare. The President of VHP, Maharana of Udaipur, came all the way to participate in the festival this year.

It was in this surcharged atmosphere that certain incidents occurred. A Muslim belonging to the Charminar area threw a stone at a temple near one of the Minars while coming out of the mosque on September 7. In fact, earlier there had been no temple there. In 1965, one of the stones near the Minar had been daubed in saffron color and an old woman was put incharge of it. In 1970, a pucca temple

was constructed there after an RTC bus collided with the stone and damaged it. The driver who happened to be a Muslim was dismissed from service. The incident of the throwing of the stone at the temple created tension in the area as there are a number of Hindu shops in the vicinity. The man was arrested immediately and is still in detention.

The revenge for this desecration was sought to be taken by desecrating a mosque elsewhere. The Allwyn factory was earlier owned by a Muslim and there are a large number of Muslim workers still working in it. In the compound of the factory, there is a grave around which a mosque was constructed. Earlier there was a CPI union in the factory. However, slowly the union was captured by the BJP and one Pandit Narendra became its leader. Pandit Narendra had earlier contested the assembly election from the old city area and had lost to a Majlis candidate though he was elected later in a byelection. A dispute was raised in respect of the mosque and the case was fought right upto the Supreme Court. The verdict went in favor of the mosque and the court threw it open for public prayer.

On September 8, the mosque in the Allwyn factory compound was desecrated allegedly by Pandit Narendra and his men. An idol was installed inside and pictures of Hindu gods were hung. The fans inside were damaged and the copies of the Quran were thrown into an ablution tank in the compound of the mosque. Soon the news spread and the Mailis gave a call for bandh. When the Chief Minister NT Rama Rao came to know about the bandh call he called a meeting of the Majlis leaders and requested them to withdraw the call and assured them that he would personally repair the damage done to the mosque and restore it to the Muslims. On the assurance, the Majlis leaders agreed to withdraw their call.

However, party politics again played its role in aggravating the matter. It is said that the Congress(I) persuaded the Majlis leaders to go ahead with the bandh. It may be recalled here that in the last assembly elections, the Muslims had massively voted for the Telugu Desam. So the Congress(I) is looking for opportunities to rehabilitate itself with the Muslims and this was one such opportunity.

The Majlis leaders went ahead with their bandh program on September 9. Upto 11 AM, the bandh appeared to be peaceful but it took a violent turn thereafter as Majlis volunteers started forcing people to observe the bandh. On that day, a police officer killed two Muslim boys returning from college. Shakil aged 20, a well known football player and Naseem aged 16. The police officer fired from a jeep and sped away. His identity has still not been established. After this incident stabbing cases started.

#### VHP's COMMUNAL PROPAGANDA

The BJP and VHP were fully exploiting the Ganesh festival for their own ends. They tried to create tension between Muslims and Harijans. Some BJP men are alleged to have damaged the Ganesh idol installed by Lodha and Takore communities (low caste Hindus) in Maddanapeth and Sanga Reddy areas and wanted to implicate Muslims for this. But the BJP men were caught and the situation was saved. The low caste Hindus also refused the BJP request to join it in a common procession and organized their immersion separately.

Stray stabbing incidents continued until September 21 when the situation took a turn for the worse. It was the day of immersion. In Mozzamjahi, now renamed Vinayak Chowk, a huge pandal ws erected for the Ganesh function. In fact before 1978, no such function used to be held in Hyderabad. It was during 1977–78 when Chenna Reddy of Congress(I) was the chief minister that the Ganesh festival began to be celebrated on such a scale. The chief minister himself participated in the procession and immersion ceremony. Since then every chief minister has been participating in the function.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### **Whole World Denounces**

## US Invasion of Grenada

A DESPICABLE ACT OF A SUPERPOWER AGAINST A SMALL

The tranquility of the Caribbean islands was violently disturbed on the morning of Oct. 25, when in one of the biggest display of brute military force since the Indochina war, an estimated 1900 marines and a token number of police and soldiers supplied by certain Caribbean governments invaded the tiny island of Grenada. Grenadians who were already in a state of shock with the killing 6 days earlier of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in an internal strife, were suddenly facing the misfortune of being a neighbor of the mighty United States. At the time of this writing, over 6000 US marines were fighting Grenadians with the US Generals admitting that they had not expected such resistance and the troops may be fighting in Grenada for weeks.

THIRD WORLD COUNTRY

omy or be friendly with Cuba. But it seems the misfortune of every people because any change in a country which does not bring servility to the US is likely to invite retaliation of this country whose warships cruise the shores of practically every land and whose nuclear warheads and missiles are located from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

President Reagan, Secretary of State Schulz, and US ambassadors and diplomats all over are pronouncing that American troops will be withdrawn once US objectives are fulfilled. Obviously these objectives are not merely to install puppets in Grenada but to sabotage the



Associated Press

Marines advancing Tuesday into Grenville, Grenada.

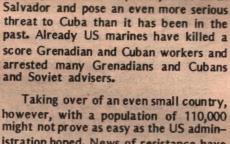
The United States government which has launched innumerable attacks on peaceful nations since the second World War, beginning with the invasion of Korea, shocked even its allies and friends who could not but condemn the invasion as there is no justification for invading a small island with a population of 110,000. Every nation, people and individual who stand for peace and international order have denounced the attack in no uncertain terms.

President Reagan, who is Truman, Hoover and McCarthy in one, announced that American forces went to Grenada to "restore democracy," overthrow "brutal gang of leftist thugs," save the lives of Americans and of course, defend the strategic interests of the United States. Whereas all other pretexts merely display belligerency of a war mongering supercracy is pirate marauding the ocean to promote free trade. Was it to save democracy that the US organized the massacre of nearly 1 million Indonesians and installed Suharto, killed thousands of Chileans and crowned Pinochet? But for US, the dictatorship of Marcos in Philippines wouldn't last a day and Papa Doc Duvalier won't be succeeded by baby Doc Duvalier.

Perhaps it is wrong to offer cheap education to American students or build airports and ports to improve national econ-







popular regime in Nicaragua, crush those

fighting for democracy and justice in El

however, with a population of 110,000 might not prove as easy as the US administration hoped. News of resistance have surprised many. Nearly a dozen marines have been killed and many wounded. Grenadian people and Cuban workers are not willing to surrender. There are voices of protest all over South America and Caribbean as well as the rest of the world. Even some US senators are critical of the American move. One can only hope that this act of international terrorism will arouse mammoth sentiment against the interventionist and hegemonic policies of the US government.

As the people of Grenada are being recolonized barely 12 years after they gained independence from Britain, the world must remain in fear of war and aggression by the US anywhere in the world. While the US under Reagan displays what it really is, its allies must live in shame and the people of the whole world are left with no choice but to do whatever is necessary to isolate and defeat the major threat to world peace.





# US Foreign Policy—Fomenting Instability Abroad

R.N.Raju

The armed intervention and occupation of the island nation of Grenada by the United States is the latest in a series of its foreign policy ventures through which the United States is seeking to maintain its superpower status. The aggressive actions of the US under President Reagan and the official policy of active support to overthrow legal governments of independent countries has made the United States the most important cause of global instability today.

The landing of more than two thousand marines in the small island nation of Grenada has been condemned worldwide. Even supporters of the US have chosen to criticize the military action taken by the Reagan government. Britain, France and Italy have all expressed criticism of the Grenada action. Most Latin American countries have condemned the US invasion. The Council of Europe, which is made up of representatives from 21 West European nations, said public opinion would "find it hard to reconcile the invasion with the principles of international law." West Germany, Canada and various other traditional allies have also refused to support the American action.

China strongly condemned the United States invasion of Grenada and demanded the withdrawal of the American troops without delay. It called the invasion a "gross violation" of the United Nations Charter and "an act of power politics" that bullied the small island neighbor. In a statement issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry it said "China is deeply concerned about the situation in Grenada and is keeping a close watch on the developments there. The Chinese Government has always maintained that the affairs of a country should be settled by its own people free from interference."

Most delegates of the Organization of American States have condemned the invasion of Grenada as a violation of inter-national law and the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of member nations. At the United Nations, the Security Council has been discussing a resolution sponsored by Nicaragua and Guyana strongly condemning the armed intervention in grenada and calling for an immediate cessation of the intervention. Speaking before the Security Council, the representative of Grenada to the United Nations said "We have no desire to fight with the United States. But it is very clear that in today's world the United States has decided that might is right, that nobody has the right to decide its own destiny when the United States decides that it is the wrong destiny."

The condemnation of the US military intervention has not been limited to countries and organizations external to the United States. There have been wide spread protests all across the US with thousands of demonstrators calling for the US marines to be immediately removed from Grenada and asking the Reagan Administration to cease its destabilizing activities particularly in Central America.

The US Government had justified its military intervention under the pretext of protecting American lives in Grenada because of the internal political changes there. In the face of worldwide and domestic opposition the Reagan Administration is now seeking to garner some support by claiming that the US action was in response to growing Cuban military involvement in Grenada. Although President Reagan has unleashed a propaganda war by rallying the domestic right wing, no one has been taken in by the flimsy arguments and "evidences" of Cuban or any other involvement in Grenada.

Why has the Reagan Administration chosen to stage this operation in Grenada at this time? A number of factors seem to be important in understanding the present US strategy. All of them point out to the determined actions of the United States to wage an unqualified battle for world

domination.

During the past two years the US Government has been actively involved with providing arms, training personnel and providing military advisors to rightist political groups intending to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. Even direct participation of American military personnel and of the Central Intelligence Agency have been acknowledged by the government spokesmen themselves. More recently a military alliance has been revived with the participation of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. The alliance known as CONDECA was revived in a meeting of military chiefs of the three countries in Guatemala with the participation of the Chief of US Southern Command in Panama. The meeting claimed that the revival of CONDECA was necessary to confront the problems in Central America "in a coordinated, harmonious and unified manner." The active role of the US armed forces and the CIA in Central America clearly indicate that the US is intensifying its efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and replace it with one that will identify with its superpower interests. The military action in Grenada serves to emphasize US willingness to take any action including direct armed intervention and occupation of a sovereign country to achieve its goals.

Secondly, the recent events in Lebanon had stirred up considerable domestic opposition to the continuing presence of US marines as the socalled peace keeping force in Beirut. The unfortunate killings only served to underscore the fragile political balance in Lebanon and the consequences of the no war, no peace situation that has been maintained in the Middle East for a number of years due to the intransigence of Israel with the support of the US. The futility of peace keeping by foreign forces in the absence of a just solution to the problem of the Palestinian people was sinning to be appreciated by the public. The armed invasion of Grenada has served to divert the attention from the disastrous American policy for the Middle East, atleast

Thirdly, there has been growing international and domestic opposition to the continuing arms race between the two superpowers and particularly to the planned deployment of US missiles in Western Europe. Millions of people worldwide had risen in protest and the nuclear freeze movement within the US has been continuously gaining strength. By maintaining a sense of fear and hostility to the Soviet Union among the US public, the Reagan Administration has been seeking to legitimize its proposed plan on Euromissiles. In this context, the allegation of Cuban and possibly Soviet involvement in Grenada with a view to transform the tiny island state into a military base has been leveled by the US Government. Thus, the military invasion of Grenada serves to fuel legitimate fears about the Soviet Union and thus is intended to minimize the d omes tion to the deployment of US missiles in

Fourthly, the Reagan Administration had been concerned with the possible decline in support from its most reliable power base, namely the extreme right wing of the Republican party. Various internal political events had contributed to some uncertainty about the extent of support to Reagan from this political segment. The military action in Grenada has served to rally this section of Reagan's power base in support of the President since Reagan has demonstrated that he would not hesitate to go to any extremes to show the military might of the United States.

Finally, the invasion of Grenada is perceived as an important contribution to the success of Reagan in the 1984 presidential elections. Various economic policies that have been implemented by Reagan, his policies related to the envir-

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#### SANDAR STREET, Superpowers Discuss Disarmament With Determination to Fail

R.N.Raju

The Geneva talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe started its decisive phase on September 6. But the progress in the talks so far and the pronouncements by both sides made before the world public in different forums seem to suggest that the two superpowers are determined to make the negotiations a failure so as to continue their arms race for gaining global control.

Both Washington and Moscow have made a number of proposals and counterproposals. The most recent one was made by the Soviet leader Andropov who introduced three new proposals on October 26, which he said demonstrated Moscow's "flexibility and constructiveness." The main one is an offer to reduce the number of Soviet SS-20 medium-range missiles in Europe to "about 140", a reduction of about 100 from the current Soviet arsenal in Europe. This number, Andropov said, was "noticeably less than the number of medium-range missile launchers in the possession of Britain and France." Secondly, Andropov reiterated the pledge he made in August that the Soviet Union would destroy any SS-20 missiles that were removed from Europe under an arms treaty, rather than place them in Asia from where they could be easily moved back to the west. Thirdly, Andropov offered "additional flexibility" in the earlier Soviet demand to limit each side in Europe to 300 medium-range delivery vehicles, which include missiles and bombers. Andropov noted that the Soviet proposal "supposedly excessively undercuts the American aviation systems." He said Moscow was prepared to set new levels "substantially differing from the earlier proposals."

The Soviet leader also made it clear that if new American missiles appear in Western Europe, they would make the

continuation of the resent talks in Geneva impossible. While the above proposals are the latest in a war of words that has been going on for a long time to demonstrate the "flexibility" of the proposer and the "intransigence" of the other superpower, all the proposals make absolutely no departure from certain basic positions on which the two countries totally disagree. For example, the latest proposal of Andropov is based on the Soviet stand that the missiles deployed by Britain and France in Europe should be counted in any accounting of the balance of forces. Also the basic Soviet position that the United States should not deploy any new missiles in Europe has remained unchanged.

The United States has persistently rejected the demand about counting the British and French missiles on the ground that they are independent strategic forces not under NATO control, and should therefore not be included in the tally for the medium-range negotiations in Geneva. In his address to the UN General Assembly, President Reagan announced his three-point proposal on September 26. According to these proposals, the US will not deploy all the 572 new missiles as planned once there is agreement between the two sides on global limits on medium-range nuclear weapons. Also US will be willing to discuss limits on bombers and will agree to reduce Pershing II as well as cruise missiles if the overall number of the missiles could be lowered to equal levels. The Reagan proposals were immediately dismissed by Moscow as a "deception" and as a "propaganda ploy to play for time and then start the deployment in Western Europe of ballistic Pershing II and cruise mis-

The 21-month old Geneva talks are thus showing the difficulty for the two sides to reach an agreement because of their mutually exclusive positions and their unwillingness to change them despite the claims of both superpowers to flexibility and seriousness. However, in essence, Moscow is determined to keep new US missiles out of Europe while Washington is bent on deploying them there. And while the Soviets insist on taking into account the British and French

nuclear weapons, the US supported by the British and the French, refuses to do so. On these essential positions there has been no change. What the various proposals and counterproposals have sought to do is to offer some minor concessions as a sign of their respective flexibility and sincerity towards reaching an accord. But by ensuring that their fundamental disagreements are not reduced, both the superpowers are mutually assured of the impossibility of arriving at an agreement and the possibility of rationalizing their arms race.

Moscow does not want new US missiles deployed in Europe because they can hit the Soviet targets accurately and within minutes. If the deployment could be blocked, Moscow could hope to maintain its nuclear superiority in Europe. Of course, this is intolerable to Washington which sees the cruise and Pershing missiles as the counter-measure against the SS-20s in its contention for supremacy over Europe with the Soviet Union. This clash of fundamental interests over domination has locked the Geneva talks into a sphere of futility. Both superpowers however, are forced to come forth with high sounding proposals because of the considerable pressures of the international anti-nuclear movements and the growing resentment of the various developed and developing countries towards the nuclear arms race. Each side, is seeking to convince the world opinion that the other side is not sincere and flexible so as to legitimize its own arms build-up.

At the recent UN General Assembly session, the chief Soviet delegate Oleg Troyanovsky said that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact "will not allow anyone to acquire military superiority over them." That the US shares in such a view absolutely and that it would not allow anyone to have military superiority over it is only too well-known. This then determines the reality of the Geneva talks and the possible outcomes from it. In short, the arms limitation or reduction or control talks have only become a means to continue the arms race with legitima-

## **Destruction of KAL Flight 7**

V. KUMAR

The Soviet Air Force's shooting down of the Korean airliner, which had made a deep incursion either by accident or design into Soviet territory in the Far East while on a New York-Seoul flight, and the deaths of its 269 passengers and crew has led to an alarming rise in tension between the superpowers. The Reagan administration used the incident to launch a grand propaganda offensive against the Soviet "empire of evil" (Reagan's phrase) and tried to bring the Russians to their knees before the bar of world opinion. The Soviets, put on the defensive, tried to initially cover up and when that failed, reacted with traditional bureaucratic paranoia and bluster. In the aftermath of the affair, whatever fitful negotiations were going on between the superpowers. such as the arms control talks in Geneva, are now at a standstill and another sharp and more destabilizing upward spiral in the arms race can be expected, making the whole world a more dangerous place for all of its people.

The political meaning of the entire incident is that the games superpowers play", the ceaseless spy-counterspy jockeying for hegemonic advantage with ever-increasing high technology, have reached a point where they are becoming directly lethal to the lives of uninvolved

According to the detailed reports in the US press analyzing the sequence of events in the incident, the US regularly sends spy planes on intelligence-gathering missions into the area. One such aircraft was in the vicinity shortly before the Korean plane, intruded into Soviet airspace and this formed the basis of the Soviet countercharge that the Korean plane itself was performing a spy mission.

In fact, the most recent analysis of the event in the New York Times stated that it is the consensus of the US intelligence community that the Russian air defense pilots felt that they were shooting down a military reconnaissance aircraft, not a civilian airliner. In one sense, therefore, the extremely unfortunate deaths of the civilian passengers reflect the heights to which confrontation between the superpowers has reached. While the Soviets, as ones "who pulled the trigger," bear the prime responsibility the provocative role of the US cannot be ignored. All countries need to launch a concerted effort to urge the superpowers to lower the level of their confrontational measures and countermeasures aimed against each other so that the lives of innocent people are not endangered.

A leading article last month in this paper dealt with this incident in an one-sided, partial and selective fashion. For example, while quoting the Chinese representative's statement in the UN Security Council debate deploring the deaths of the innocent civilians, it failed to point out that China abstained, along with three other countries outside the Soviet

bloc, on the US resolution holding the Soviet Union responsible for the incident. It did not mention China's statement that there were many "unexplained circumstances" about the incident which the Chinese gave as a reason for not voting in favor of the resolution. In fact, the article also failed to point out that the US barely managed to get the minimum of nine votes in favor needed to bring the resolution to the table by persuading Malta at the last moment to change its attitude. This shows that a number of countries outside the Soviet and Western blocs did not completely believe the US version of events which India Now featured so

prominently. The article also approvingly reported the cheap propaganda actions of the governors of New York and New Jersey in barring Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's flight from landing at Kennedy airport, but failed to point out that this is contrary to the UN charter and agreements between the US and the UN allowing freedom of passage to delegates attending the General Assembly sessions.

RESPONSE BY R.N.RAJU

I agree with the comments made by Kumar concerning my article on the Korean Airliner tragedy which appeared in the October issue of India Now. At the time the article was written, the Soviet official spokesman had stated that they were aware of the airplane being civilian. Iney, nowever, maintained that the US was responsible for the loss of human lives because it had chosen to involve a civilian airliner in spying activities. In this context, my article took the view that even if the aircraft was involved in spying activity it should not have been shot down destroying innocent human lives. Since this aspect of the incident appeared most important to me, other comments and actions such as the abstention by China in the Security Council voting or the fact that the US resolution was passed with minimal support were not properly presented. It should be noted that while some of the countries expressed doubts concerning why the airplane entered deeply into Soviet territory, no one hesitated to deplore the Soviet action as a serious violation of the established norms for ensuring safety of international civil aviation. The Chinese representative at the UN called for an investigation into the shooting and the Soviet Union has not come forward to facilitate such an investigation.

## Untouchables.

#### China and Japan

VT Rajsekhar Editor, Dalit Voice Bangalore

As a representative of the Action Committee, I toured Japan and China on invitation. In China, I was able to get large audience and a very sympathetic hearing. This was the first time the Chinese were getting exposed to the problem of the Indian reality. They were shocked to hear about the inhuman persecution of untouchables. As the most revolutionary country in the world, China was committed to support them.

They were also to hear that the Dalits were not getting attracted to the Indian Communist Parties since the leadership of these parties being in the hands of highcaste Hindus, hardly took any interest in their problems. The Indian left movement deliberately ignored the caster factor. The Marxist scholars and writers in China agreed with our assessment of the Indian situation and said that without destroying caste, it was not possible to destroy "class." A happy combination of "class struggle" with the "caste struggle" alone could bring about Revolution, they ag-

The 15-day tour of Japan was equally a big success. What impressed me most was that the Burakumin (outcast) people displayed extra-ordinary knowledge of the problems of untouchables and quite a few of them have visited India more than

From our study we could make out that the Burakumins (3 million) became untouchables because once upon a time they were doing the same work like our people- they were animal skinners and did other 'dirty jobs' and because of the Hindu influence both on Buddhism and Shinto, they were treated as untouchables. The untouchables of India and Durakumins are the only two peoples surfering from the stigma of pollution and hence segregated outside village and city limits. These two people should link up their struggle and make a joint bid before international organizations like the Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, Minority Rights Group, etc.

(from Frontier)

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#### US Foreign Policy

(continued from page 3)

onment, the colossal commitment to defense spending and the threat of nuclear war have all contributed to diminish the extensive support with which Reagan was elected to the presidency in 1980. The military action in Grenada is rekindling hope in certain sections of the American public who would like to see the US reassert its military might and a position of dominance in global affairs. They would like to see in Reagan an advocate for their view. One may recall that this attitude played an important role in the defeat of President Carter in 1980 in the aftermath of his Iranian adventure when his actions were largely perceived as reflecting American weak-

The United States under the Reagan Administration has strongly reemerged as an aggressive superpower seeking global domination. There is display of military might in every event and the foreign policy of the US is reflective of this trend. The military invasion of Grenada is a clear symbol of the US commitment to cause global instability as a necessary strategy towards the goal of world domination in the old imperial tradition. That this strategy is bound to fail is also clear from the universal condemnation the US has received.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

#### No Release for Political Prisoners in Andhra

Central Committee, CPI (ML)

Mrs. Chandramma was arrested in Srikakulam in 1975, tortured by the police, implicated in murder cases and finally sentenced for life. Recently her health has been completely shattered. Repeated representations to the Government were made for her release at least on parole for health reasons. Mr. Venkataraman the then Andhra Chief Minister, declared in the Assembly that she would be released on parole. But to this day she is in jail. authorities are acting with vengeance against her, simply because she happens to be the wife of Paila Vasudev Rao, Secretary of the Provincial Committee CPI (ML) in Andhra and a member of the Central Committee.

The case of Mrs. Nirmala, a member of the Provincial Committee in AP who was arrested in 1982 May and falsely charged with murder and conspiracy is no better either. She happens to be the wife of Chandra Pulla Reddy, the general secretary of the CPI (ML).

Similarly many women activists are forced to work in secret because of arrest warrants still pending against them. The atrocities of the police during the Emergency in 1975-76 were brought to the knowledge of the public by the

Bhargava Commission in 1979, particularly the illegal killings in the name of encounters. Even after 1980, in Karimnagar, Nallagonda and Warangal districts many persons were killed by the police in stagemanaged encounters. This barbarous repression in Andhra Pradesh has been going on for the last 14 years.

This is the 'democracy' under which the CPI (ML) had to participate in the elections. This is the truth in Andhra Pradesh. In areas of Karimnagar, Khammam, Warangal districts, it is the Disturbed Areas Act and police raj that is in existence. Even today no public meeting is allowed for communist revolutionaries in Telengana without the permission of the police. Dozen of political activists are still languishing in jail either as convicted prisoners or as undertrials. Hundreds of arrest warrants are pending against the communist revolutionaries in the state. This is the crux of the problem-the restoration of civil liberties. Even the little concessions that the Janata government made in certain States, under people's pressure, in releasing certain categories of communist revolutionaries in 1978 were not extended to Andhra because the Congress Government in power there refused to obey and this situation still con-

#### A Journalists' Committee Formed

Ajai Singh Convener, PJSS Lucknow

Patrakar-Janandolan Sampark Samiti (Committee to Contact Journalists and Mass Movements) was formed on August 7 in Lucknow in a meeting of journalists, mass organisations, trade unions, social-cultural organisations, non-party political organisations, intellectuals and enlightened persons on the understanding that only organized mass action can prevent the systematic campaign to kill and terrorize the journalists, which has taken a very serious turn in UP.

The main demands of PJSS are: (1) Immediate arrest, dismissal and registration of murder cases against all police officers killing of Suresh Chandra Gupta, a

Banda journalists, on July 13, (2) Immediate cessation of all such incidents, threats to kill, attacks, atrocities and intimidation journalists at several places in UP by police-goonda combine, severe action against the goondas, arrest and dismissal of criminal police officers, and specially severe punishment of those, who murdered a Deoria journalist, Ishwar Chandra Madhesia, last year in August, who are still free, (3) Smashing of the policelandlord-corrupt politician-goonda gang which has taken firm control of the whole administrative machinery, (4) Stoppage of repression on mass movements being waged for democratic rights and civil liberties, and of the recurrence of incidents like the murder of three bonded Harijan peasants in Unnao district on July 21.

(from Frontier)

#### Untouchability Conference in New York

(continued from page 1)

A simultaneous session is on Minority Legal Strategies, in two parts: Law and Civil Rights, with Dr Dinesh Khosla (CUNY), William Robinson, Jack John Olivero and Dr Barnett Rubin (Yale); Law and Redistributive Justice, with Dr Marc Galanter (Wisconsin), Prof. D.N.Sandanshiv (Bombay), Michael Myers (NAACP) and Rhonda Copeland (CUNY).

In the evening, the film, The Klan: A Legacy of Hate in America, will be shown with discussion led by Randall Williams.

There will be one session, in the afternoon, on Sunday November 13 on Change, Resistance and Conflict: A Summation, with Dr Anil Bhatt (Ahmedabad), Dr Manning Marable (Colgate Univ.), Achyut Yagnik (Ahmedabad) and Dr Owen Lynch (NYU).

#### DELEGATES FROM INDIA

Dr R.M.Ambewadikar, from Marathwada University, is a dalit economist and has researched minority-owned cooperative movements and compared minority economic strategies with Black American economists.

Dr Anil Bhatt is at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad. He is a political sociologist and has been active in the Lokayan project, which encourages dialog between scholars and grassroots citizen action groups.

Dr N.D.Kamble is at the Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore. He approaches economic research from

the inner perspective of the dalit community. He has studied both rural and urban dalits. His "Atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Tribes" is a compilation of data on violence against dalits in a form useful as a reference.

Vasant Moon is the editor for the government of Maharashtra of the 8-volume project, Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches. He has encouraged the preservation of the early written material of the dalit movement.

Dr Gail Omvedt is an American who is settled in Kasegaon, Maharashtra. A sociologist and political activist, she is actively interested in the struggles of workers, farm-laborers, dalits, women and minority nationalities.

Dr Gangadhar Pantawane is a poet and edits and publishes AsmitaDarsh (Mirror of Identity), a journal of dalit literature in Marathi.

Dr K.N.Raj is a well-known economist working at the Center for Development Studies, Trivandrum.

Prof. D.N.Sandanshiv is a dalit specialist in constitutional law and legal education. He is now the head of Bombay University's Board of Studies in Law.

Achyut Yagnik is a dalit activist in Ahmedabad. He is active in civil liberties (PUCL, Lok Adhikar Sangh), trade unions, journalism (Gujarat Samachar and Economic and Political Weekly), poetry and fiction and drama, and community action groups (Lokayan, Center for Social Knowledge and Action).

#### Long March to Delhi

Debasis Bhattacharya General Secretary, APDR Calcutta.

At the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberty Committee (APCLC) at Khammam, APDR (West Bengal) proposed a long march to Delhi from different state capitals by cycle to mobilize public opinion for Human Rights. APDR thinks that it is high time to take up issues like amending the Police Act (1861), IPC, Cr.P.C, Special Arms Act, Disturbed Areas Act, Peoples Representation Act (1951), Posts and Telegraphs Act (1885) and other relevant acts suitably, of stopping police atrocity, torture in lock-up, watch by detective police, censoring of mail, bugging of telephones, etc. and treat them as national issues. APDR's speaker said that there might be a snap Lok Sabha poll in February 1984. But if these issues are raised earlier many opposition parties may in-corporate them in their election pledges.

APDR will start a Human Rights Long March by cycle from Calcutta to Delhi, covering 1500 kms and three states — West Bengal, Bihar and U.P. The march is likely to start on October 5.

APDR seeks cooperation from all groups, institutions, individuals who are concerned with Human Rights. Contributions by A/C payee check in the name of the Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights would be honored.

(from Frontier)

#### Civil Liberties in Andhra

We regret that even a non-Congress(I) Government led by NT Rama Rao has not fulfilled the election pledges to the people of Andhra Pradesh in regard to the restoration of civil liberties. The reprehensible 'Disturbed Areas Act' and other such draconian measures continue to be in operation. Repression on democratic organizations of the masses like the Rytu Coolie Sangham continues unabated. The problem in Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar is not a law and order problem. It needs a political solution. Towards this end, we demand: (1) Withdrawal of the antiquated Disturbed Areas Act; (2) Withdrawals of the police camps and prosecution of the police officers guilty of wanton acts of killing and torture; (3) Withdrawals of all pending cases and arrest warrants against political activists; (4) Release of all Communist Revolutionaries unconditionally.

Asghar Ali Engineer, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, Anand Patwardhan, Vijay Tendulkar, M.S. Sathyu, Shyam Benegal, Smita Patil, R.K. Karanjia, Amol Palekar and 8 others, Bombay.

(from Frontier)

#### MINORITY STRATEGIES: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

-Race in the Western World -Untouchability in Asia

November 10-13, 1983

Location

November 10: City University of New York 33 West 42nd Street, between 5th & 6th Avenue

November 11, 12, 13: Kellogg Conference Center 15th Floor, SIA Building Amsterdam Avenue at 118th Street Columbia University

SPONSORED BY: Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University; Institute for Urban & Minority Education, Teachers' College; CUNY; Minority Rights Group (NY); VISION (USA), & Ambedkar Mission (Canada); Harvard-Berkeley Program in Social Values; Carleton College Afro-American & Asian Studies Program.

FUNDED BY: New York Council for the Humanities; National Science Foundation; Smithsonian Institution; Ford Foundation; South Asia Council, Association for Asian

For information, contact: Dr. Barbara Joshi, Secretary, Planning Committee: 3 Mohawk Ave., Geneseo, NY 11154; tel. (716)-243-2903.

## **CPM Govt Suppresses**Report on Tripura Killings

Govinda Mukhoti, Chairman People's Union for Democratic Rights and others

In February 25, 1980 disguised state police surrounded and opened fire on the hut of Sudhir Sabdkar, in Harua village, Nadiapur region in Tripura. They acted on the information that the famous CPI (ML) leader, Gobind Teli, along with 7 other activists were to meet in this hut. The police fired a total of 584 rounds, and thereafter entered the hut to find 6 dead and 1 injured, fatally.

After protests, demonstrations, street-corner meetings and a 'Tripura Bandh' organized by democratic forces in Tripura demanding inquiry into the incident, an Inquiry Commission was instituted under a Calcutta High Court's retired judge, AK De. The Commission submitted its report to the Government in April, 1982. It was published only in July 1983. The Commission expressed the view that in the case of Gobind Teli, who had become a "terror" to public life (in language of Nripen Chakravarty's left Front Government), the firing "was much in excess of the necessity of the occasion," while the firing was "completely unjustified" in the case of the others. The Left Front Government rejected the Commission's report by voice vote on the grounds that the police "resorted to firing in exercise of their right of private defense and under provisions of Section 46 of CPC...Thus the firing was done in accordance with law, bonafide and in good faith." The Government said those killed "encountered" the police (the Commission found no proof of this), and were "wanted criminals under offences of murder, dacoity and rifle snatching" (the Commission found 'no proof on this).

In fact, the killings were well planned and due to political intolerance of the Left Front Government. The police party carried no warrants of arrest for the 8 victims and did not know anyone of them by face, but when they opened fire, without any prior effort to confirm their identity. Moreover, the time gap (intentional) between the killing, the inquiry and the publication of its report, as well as the final rejection of the findings of the Commission are evidence of the intentions and character of the government in Tripura. With this act, Tripura Government links itself clearly with the Congress government's style of killing in the name of "encounters".

We call upon progressive and democratic elements to mobilize public opinion against such autocratic steps of political killings and rejection of AK De commission's report.

(from Frontier)

#### Gujarat Police Actions

A Desai, Editor Muktijung, Ahmedabad

After the fascist attack in Ahmedabad on Muktijung (Marxist-Leninist monthly) in June, suppression has not ended. In July, on the basis of the membership list of the journal, many subscribers were summoned by the police to give statements. Protets led the police to retreat, only for a while. Now in Baroda and in other cities of Gujarat, subscribers are being harassed in the name of investigation and inquiry by the police. Even the bookstall owner's statement was taken and he was compelled not to sell the magazine.

In the last 2 years, the Gujarat government has been suppressing progressive ideas. Journalists, writers, poets, cultural activists, and Dalit writers are the main targets.

(from Frontier)

#### Kamla: A Play on Buying Women

A new drama group in Calcutta, Bhumika, with Samir Mazumdar and Kajal Chowdhury as directors brought out its very first production Kamla based on a remarkable play by Vijay Tendulkar, which dealt with a newspaper report on the actual purchase and sale of women in a certain part of India.

A very intrepid reporter from Indian Express makes this sensational investigative reporting and publishes the results in three consecutive instalments, which naturally create a furore in official circles. Tendulkar wrote his play Kamla inspired by this incident and gave it his own twist and color. The Marathi play was translated into Bengali by Dr P.J.Adyalkar and edited by Kalyan Chowdhury.

Samir Mazumdar as Jai Singh Yadav the reporter goes out of his way to buy Kamla at Lohardaga in Bihar and decides to expose this shameless scandal at a press conference. His idealism comes through but a dichotomy rages in his system, as it probably does in every male, which shows him up as a man who is idealistic in his public postures but feudalistic in his private life.

Kajal Chowdhury as his wife Sarita does not quite surface in the first round but comes out in glory towards the end when she feels utterly wronged by her husband's male chauvinist propensities.

We cannot forget the scene where Kajal chalks out a program for both of them under the impression that they had both been bought by Jai Singh. Wherever there is an assertion of female dignity, we find Kajal at her best. However, when Sarita discovers and begins to feel deeply that she herself is no better than just a slave tied to her master's apron strings, she does precious little to free herself.

The production was neat and helped to prop up the theme. Although the set was ornate with more than a hint of the commercial stage, it did not detract from the theme, which gave the play a momentum of its own. The Western music in the background was much too loud and explosive but the plaintive Indian songs were most appropriate, heightening the effect of loneliness and misery. Tapas Sen's lighting effects at special moments proved once more how wizardry in this field can enrich and enhance the moods and gestures of men and women caught up in a whirlpool of events.

Kamla has tremendous social significance. It is one of those plays that revel in exposure and hit out at the the establishment while throwing up in the process certain other problems that had so long been swept under the carpet. It attained its objective without pulling any punches.

(from Frontier)

## A Marriage with No Dowry?

SATHYA

[The following is excerpted from the concluding section of a serial on the life of "an Indian who refused to bribe, cheat, practice castelsm or take dowry." The serial was carried in Thuglak, a Tamil fortnightly.]

Marriage Broker: Sir, your daughter is most fortunate! It is a rare match. The boy's father is coming here shortly. Let us finalize it today itself.

Mother: What a good news! I have been worried that like so many other girls my daughter too will never be able to get married.

Father: Very good. How are the boy's people?

Broker: Excellent. After the wedding, there will be no "Bring the rest of the dowry" or beating of your child. They won't pour kerosene on their daughter-in-law's head and set fire to her. I can give you a guarantee.

Father: That is what we need. My daughter should be so fortunate to marry into such a family. Even if it is a bit difficult, let us finalize with these people.

Broker: If there was any danger, I won't be talking to you. I heard about this place in Nungampakkam. The husband said, "Your father deceived me at the wedding by promising me a motorcycle but gave me only a scooter. Where is the rest of the money?" and drew question marks in seven-eight places on his wife's body with a hot rod. I don't tell you about such places.

Father: I am very grateful to you. I will never forget your help.

Broker: Here is the boy's father.

Father: Come, sir, please come! The broker was telling us about you just now. What will you eat?

B.F.: What is the hurry to eat? We are going to eat so much at your place. I am very happy to marry my son to your daughter. I won't take one paisa as dowry.

Mother: (to the broker) What is this? He says no dowry? How can we trust such a family?

Broker: See, there will be no complaint later about "rest of the dowry." Anyway, let us hear him fully.

B.F.: I have four sons. Didn't take dowry for any of them. The brides come very simply with sixty-seventy sovereigns of gold jewelry - that is enough in my opinion.

Broker: He won't take a paisa as dowry.

B.F.: I don't like to make the girls' parents suffer unduly.

Father: You say 60 sovereigns are enough?

B.F.: My first three boys got scooters from their fathers-in-law. Surely, you care for your son-in-law's self-respect?

Broker: Besides that, there is the usual 10 kilo silver, 100 kilo stainless steel, bureau, cots, TV, a plot of land in T.Nagar. That is all.

B.F.: Finally, an important matter, I forgot all about it. Does your daughter work?

Father: She is a clerk in a bank. What does your son do?

B.F.: He can't find a job. But he can manage quite well on your daughter's salary. Very smart boy. Shall I go?

#### Rape of Untouchable Women in Bihar

The Supreme Court has ordered the additional District Judge of Nalanda in Bihar to institute an inquiry into allegations of rape of untouchable women including a 14-year-old girl and two pregnant women in the Babu Bigha village in Bihar by a group of 40 people on the night of June 10. According to reports, the village landlords incited these people to gang-rape the untouchable women. The gang of 40 went on a looting spree, raped young women and beat up

men and children. 22 persons were injured. The women were initially reluctant to disclose the story but later 3 of the victims reported the matter to the police. The police completed a report about the incident but took no action. The matter came to the Supreme Court's notice only when Dr. Jose Kannanaike, the director of the Program for Scheduled Castes in Nalanda sent the court a petition calling for suitable action.

#### Women's Role in Assam Movement

The mass participation of women in the Assam movement has received little notice outside Assam. Middle-class women joined their humbler sisters in town and village. It is true that in the early part of the movement, many fashionable women thought it it was the 'in' thing to join this but this class of upper class urban women gradually disappeared as the movement went on. In the later stages, the focus was more on the humble rural women who came out en masse to court arrest or to join processions.

Another criticism is that the agitation leaders deliberately used women as a sort of cushion against police brutality. It may be that women came forward voluntarily to shield and protect their menfolk and may have consciously or unconsciously turned the alleged chivalry of the police to good use. Another fact that must be taken into account is that as the police repression continued, many men were in prison or in hiding, so it is not strange that more women than men were in evidence in the processions, satyagrahas and picketlines in the later stages of movement. Any way, it is entirely false to suggest that women have escaped police brutality. One old woman in Nowgong was allegedly died as a result of police beating, others were imprisoned, harassed and even raped.

The administration attempted to counter women's aggressive stance, particularly in Gauhati, by bringing serious allegations. Mr Sarin, Adviser to the Governor of Assam, cast slurs on the moral character of the women participating in the movement. Motivated and baseless as they are, these allegations have failed to weaken the morale of the women in any respect.

It was at a later stage of the movement that women's groups were formed along the lines of the mahila samitis in the pre-independence period mainly in Gauhati and Tinsukia. In the very latest stage of the agitation, just before the ag-Itation was suspended by the AASU in the aftermath of the bloody elections, the agitation program included a special women's day, on Feb. 3, in which women all over Assam offered satyargarha in a coordinated manner. The effectiveness of the women's coordination committees, at least in the minds of the authorities, can be gauged by the fact that the Gauhati branch has suffered police repression, its leaders being arrested and harassed and their houses being searched. With conscious effort these women's organizations can be strengthened and used for advancing the struggle for democratic rights among women by making them more conscious of their social position as also by drawing them into general political struggles in a conscious, organized man-

#### INFLUENCE OF TRIBAL TRADITION

The active role that women have played in the Assam movement has been possible because of their special status in this part of the country, which is much different from that prevailing elsewhere in India, particulary in the north. The influence of the tribal societies that surround Assam and constitute a major portion of its population is seen in the special status of Assamese women. The Garo and

Khasi people of Meghalaya still retain the matriarchal system of inheritance though modernization is making its inroads. The local markets in Meghalaya and especially Manipur are controlled by women. Even apart from the specific conditions in the tribal areas, women continue to play a major role in the rural economy of Assam proper. Most of the paddy transplantation and much of harvesting of paddy is done by them. Women bending over paddies with sickles in hand is a common sight. The rearing of silk cocoon of Eri, Muga and Pat is largely done by women. This is an important cottage industry in Assam. In most rural areas all the family clothing is woven by women in handlooms from handspun or mill-spun cotton. Formerly, much of the cotton used was indigenous, being grown by tribal women in hill areas. Besides all these, rural Assamese women supply the family nutritional needs by gathering the abundant wild plants used as vegetables and by fishing with bamboo traps in the numerous lakes, bhils and flooded paddies. Though river fishing is done by men, retailing is in the hands of fisherwomen, "puharis" thought it is sad to see their traditional trade being encroached upon by middlemen who are always men. Among Assam's tea garden community, women work equally alongside men though they continue to get less pay than men. Small wonder that Assamee women can hold their heads high and assert themselves as very useful and necessary members of the society and not merely as bearers and nurses of children. Middle-class women of urban areas follow prevalent cultural patterns in the rest of India, but such evils as dowry, early marriage, purdah are conspicuously absent. Though women's literacy rate is lower than men's as is the pattern elsewhere, middle-class women are active in higher education and professions.

Women have had an honored role in Assamese history. All travellers to Assam have commented on their independent character. There are a number of historical heroines: one Jymati, an example of heroic fortitude and endurance, died under torture rather than betray her husband, another Mula Gabharu took the place of her dead husband in battle against the invaders and died in the field. In modern times, Assamese women played an active role in the freedom struggle. Many lost their lives in police firing. One young 15-year-old Kanaklata Baruah was a martyr of the 1942 movement.

For many the present Assam movement is important because it enabled women to play a significant role in political life. Largescale politicization of men as well as women is not yet apparent but a stage of consciousness has been reached which can be carried further by conscious effort. Women have suffered a lot during the course of the movement as a result of police repression or communal passions. Rapes, sometimes on a wide scale, either perpetrated by an avenging constabulary or by anti-social elements have been reported from the rural. Many women are homeless, the future of many is at stake.

(part of a report circulated in the National Council of the Indian People's Front which met at Allahabad in July)

(from Frontier)

#### Rape at Cong(I) MP's House

The arrest of a youth on rape charges from the Delhi house of a Congress(I) MP in August has exposed a flesh racket operating under the cover of an employment agency. It was the third such incident within a month in the same house. The police was called in each case.

Pramod was arrested at the house of Gujarat Congress(I) MP Gigabai Gohilfollowing a complaint by Veena, 16, that she was lured to the house with the promise of a job as a cook. There she was raped by Pramod and three others. Two others, Suresh Kumar and Aref Iqbal, are missing. During interrogation, Pramod reportedly claimed that the MP was in the

house at the time.

Suresh Kumar had earlier been arrested in late July on charges of kidnapping. He had advertised in a local daily for teachers and tried to rape an applicant. The victim escaped and called the police.

Answering the same advertisement, two women from Kashmir had gone to the MP's house for interviews. Pramod, Suresh Kumar and Iqbal tried to molest them but the women escaped and summoned the cops.

So far the police have not taken any action against the activities in the house.

#### White Logic

Arjun

Grey and Brown are between white and black. Grey is brown.

Get in there you black bastard, said the kind bobby as he smashed the Asian's face on the door of the paddy wagon.

Pure white logic of merrie England, when Gurdip Singh Chaggar was murdered, screamed one down-a million to go.

Brown is grey is black. White is white but white at the barricade-niggerness rubs off.

Smash white black Blair Peach - soft, gentle bobby, as you kill him; justice must be seen to be done.

Better dead than black.

#### **Justice**

Arjun

Justice, Thatcher said, must be done, must be seen to be done. Justice must be seen. If seen, then done.

She sees justice through the sight of a gun. I saw, though I'm clourblind, she'll say, they fell just where I wanted them to, the niggers.

#### Jabbar Patel's Subah Makes It Past Censors

Jabbar Patel's Subah, the Hindi ver-sion of the award-winning Umbartha in Marathi, has finally made it past the censors with a certificate for universal release. The controversy obviously emanated from the scathing attack the film mounts on a system in which exploitation, corruption and human degradation are a way of life. The scene is a remand home for deserted women, a social welfare institution managed by a committee of eminent citizens who care little for its objectives or its unfortunate inmates. The politician, the businessman, the journalist, the educationist and the philanthropic socialite stand revealed in all their ugliness as they take advantage of the organization for their own corrupt ends.

When Smita Patil arrives at the home as the superintendent she has to learn to cope not only with the self-seeking vested interests but deal with prostitution, sexual deviation, suicide, murder and madness which are the not unusual concomitants of shattered lives. The condition of some of the women and the reactions of those who set themselves up as their benefactors reveal a social cynicism and indifference that draw their impact from trenchant truth.

Woven into this is the story of Smita herself, an educated woman who feels she must repay her debt to society through useful work and has the strength eventually to accept the resultant alienation from her husband and child. Smita's performance is distinguished by a maturity and depth that do justice to her image as one of the most important actresses on the screen today. Girish Karnad is refreshingly skilful as her lawyer husband.

(from the Times of India)

## URBAN INDIA

### **Deaths by Demolitions**

ANAND PATWARDHAN

On May 10, 1983, the hutment dwellings in the old slaughter house in Bandra, sometimes referred to as Shastrinagar, were demolished by the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

The people, having nowhere to go, stayed on, rebuilding their huts wherever possible, making makeshift tents or camping out in the open. Some residents, with ration cards to prove their long occupation of the site, had PUCL file a writ petition in the Supreme Court alleging that BMC had violated an earlier court order staying demolitions in the city. The courts issued a fresh stay on May 20 but the corporation had preempted this order by once again demolishing the rebuilt structures. This time they used a bulldozer, put barbed wire around the site and placed a guard on duty inside the compound.

their injuries.

The monsoon started. It was the worst in a decade.

Thirty-year-old Khairunissa Mehaboob Sheikh had left her drunkard husband in Sholapur and come to Bombay with her two sons, aged five and one. Khairun worked as a maidservant cleaning utensils in several well-to-do houses. She had a small hut inside the slaughterhouse compound. When the demolitions occurred she was too poor to acquire fresh building materials for a hut and slept out in the street with her children protected only by a plastic sheet.

On June 23, after several days of unabated rains, she was found dead in the street. Her children now live in Bhimri village with her sister's family.

Sabira Asghar Abdul, 23, was in her

ninth month of pregnancy when the de-

molitions took place. She ran with all the

belongings she could carry and fell. Three

weeks later she gave birth to a stillborn

was born on the pavements, a healthy girl with lots of spirit and energy. Her father

Dukhi Khan used to own less than an acre

of land in Gonda, UP. He worked it till

contracting TB 12 years ago, when he

sold the land and came to Bombay. After recovery from his illness he has been

working with a local bakery in Bandra. Last week Tahira, now three months old, got wet in one of the torrential down-

pours that the makeshift hutments cannot fully keep out. She caught a chill, seemed to recover but died suddenly on the

At the funeral, a mourner said: "This

is not a good place for us. But what other

morning of August 28.

home do we have?"

Tahira survived the demolitions and



moved out of the compound and onto the nearby pavements on the Mahim Causeway, interpreted the stay by the court as meaning that their plea had been sympathetically heard and moved back to reoccupy their original sites to await the final judgment of the court.

Their happiness was shortlived. Less than a week later, at 4 AM, the demolition crew struck again. This time the corporation laid cement pipes all over the site to prevent encroachments and placed an armed patrol on duty.

the sun beat mercilessly on the roofless slumdwellers. The heat and sun soon found their first victim. Lobhandani Chacha, aged 70, a beggar in his old age, died of sunstroke on May 24.

The people were now on the pavements. A road accident injured 3 children of a family. All of them luckily survived

#### Police Fire on Bombay **Hutment Dwellers**

Police fired on a crowd on Sept 13 which was resisting the demolitions of their huts in Northern Bombay by local municipal staff members in which 2 people were killed and many injured. Over 30 people were reported arrested. Over 50% of the population in Bombay lives either on the foot paths or chals in slum areas.

way from Salem to Madras to try and recover some compensation from the state government for her land, which had been acquired for the Salem steel plant. Instead, she was picked up on the railway platform as soon as she reached the city. Saraswathy from South Arcot ran away from home after a quarrel with her husband: she was picked up by the police at the Egmore railway station.

(from India Today)

Meanwhile, the slumdwellers who had

In the last days before the monsoon,

4 people were killed and over 20 injured in police firing in Sultanpuri, a resettlement colony in West Delhi. The residents were protesting the death of a 17 year old resident Chhote Lal of a neighboring area. According to police sources, the residents rioted and the police fired to disperse them. According to the residents, Chotte Lal was badly beaten by the Assistant Superintendent Inspector of the local police and that his death occurred in police custody. An inquiry into the firing has been ordered.

Delhi Police Shoot

and Kill Four

#### S.H. VENKATRAMANI

Madras Lawsuit Challenges Begging

Prevention Law

It began as an ordinary day for Kandaswami, 60, a soft-spoken ex-serviceman, who sat sipping tea at a tea stall near the slum where he lived in Madras. Suddenly a couple of passing constables caught sight of him - they came up and asked him what he did for a living. Blinded by cataract and a victim of old age. this former member of the artillery forces who has served around the world is now supported by his wife, a domestic servant, and a nephew who is a car driver. "My blood froze in my veins," says Kandaswami, "I didn't realize the import of their question. Very reluctantly and nervously I told them that I don't do anything." He was immediately hauled off to the police station, where, as he says: "They beat me, and tried to extort a confession as to how I eked out my livelihood." Soon the hapless old man found himself before a magistrate, and before he knew it, he was remanded to a beggars' home.

Kandaswami's case is not unusual. Many unemployed or obvious victims of poverty have found themselves in homes for beggars. In each case, the victim, an

innocent looking for a job, or even already working or retired, has been shut away simply because he hasn't been able to come up with very convincing answers when questioned. This large-scale problem came into focus last fortnight when advocates P.Rathinam and T.M.Vasudevan filed a writ petition in the Madras High Court asking the court to declare the Tamil Nadu Prevention of Begging Act 1945 unconstitutional. A division bench of the court has ordered an issue of notice to the state government.

Kandaswami fortunately managed to secure his release within three weeks, through the efforts of his wife and nephew. But Balaraman Gounder, a 70-yearold freelance mason who was looking for work on the day he was picked up, wasn't so lucky. His wife laments: "It has taken a year to trace my husband, approach the legal aid people, and get him released."

The lawyers managed to visit beggars! homes to contact victims. Visiting the Melpakkam care home near Madras, they heard many heartrending stories. Valliammal, a housewife, had come all the

N.K. SINGH

#### Harijans of Banda

The struggle of the Harijans and backward classes of Banda village in Bihar started in 1954 with Takku Das filing a petition for the commutation of rent. After the petition, the landlords filed numerous cases in an organized manner, against the laborers and kisans of the area. In July 1957, Kameshwar Prasad Sharma, who started taking active part in the 'liberation' of the people of his village was assaulted and arrested along with his father and brothers by the police. He was later ordered to be released by the Supreme Court.

As part of his continued struggle, Kameshwar Prasad protested in September 1974, against bunglings in the distribution of food relief benefits; his protest resulted in the institution of a case against one of the landlords. This was reason enough for another false case against Kameshwar Prasad, and he was arrested. He was released on bail when it was proved that he was in Patna meeting the Governor and was not in his village as alleged in the case.

In September 1975, Kameshwar Prasad, along with Ramkelawan Paswan and other exploited villagers, formed a 12 member Liberation and Rehabilitation Committee (LRC). Later, they met Governor RD Bhandare and demanded the rehabilitation of 445 families in that region. At a meeting of the Land Reforms Committee, the Revenue Minister in November 1975, ordered that the villagers of Banda should be rehabilitated within 15 days at Ghirahi village. When the villagers reached Samastipur in large numbers to collect the title paper, they were dispersed by the police, and their leaders including Kameshwar Prasad, were arrested under the DIR.

When Kameshwar Prasad was in jail, the landlords attacked Ramkelawan Parwan, Chairman of the LRC. Other Harijans in the village tried to protect Ramkelawan; they were beaten up. Women and children were not spared either. Two persons died within 15 days of the attack. When a case was filed against the landlords, there were counter cases filed against Ramkelawan. As for Kameshwar Prasad, he remained in jail for 9 months, before being released, only to be arrested soon after under the DIR.

In May, 1977, in spite of the collector's order to provide Kameshwar Prasad police protection, a murderous attack was made on him and he was admitted in hospital, badly injured. KNB Saxena, Special Secretary (Home), made an on the spot inquiry at the village; his report confirmed the existence of an outdated feudal society in the village. But his report suffered the same fate as the earlier inquiries. Saxena had recommended rehabilitation of 445 families of Ghivali, withdrawal of false cases against villagers, posting of a police force under a magistrate, protection to Kameshwar Prasad and settlement of 183 acres of government land of Sripur among the villagers. After Saxena and his team left the village, many of the villagers were victimized, including attempts of rape on some villagers.

The struggle of villagers entered into the eighties with no relief in sight. Jagannath Mishra's government took a hostile attitude towards the demands of the villagers. So they met the Prime Minister twice in July 1980. She is reported to have said, "I have informed the Bihar government and hope that the state government would soon solve the problems of the Harijans of Banda." With no results, the LRC members called on the Prime Minister again on July 1, 1982. Once again there were the usual assurances. In the meantime, the oppression of villagers by landlords continues, and now the Supreme Court has intervened on behalf of the villagers of Banda. In its interim report it has asked the state government to provide protection to the village.

## Communal Killings in Hyderabad

(continued from page 2)

VHP CALLS FOR HINDU RAI

There was a huge gathering. The function was presided over by the Maharana of Udaipur, president of VHP. Everyone was wearing saffron caps and on all Hindu houses nearby and on the route of the procession there were saffron flags. This was said to have been done with view to identifying the Hindu houses. Very provocative speeches were made in the pandal. On the stage there was hung a huge banner with the same inscription: "Implement the Nagarkoil Resolution and Declare India a Hindu Republic." Chief Minister NT Rama Rao attended the function, as per the tradition by now well established. He laid stress on Hindu-Muslim unity and when he talked of Hindus and Muslims being brothers there went up a slogan from the audience, "Hindu-Hindu bhai-bhai." The chief minister was presented with a saffron cap which he first declined. But the Maharana insisted and then he wore it for sometime and then laid it aside. The burden of all other speeches was on protecting Hinduism and establishing Hindu Raj in India.

The procession was accompanied by 32 trucks. Many of them, it is alleged, contained lathis and other weapons.

DOLL.

1 2 ME . 12 X

These were hidden under saffron clothes. The procession followed the prescribed route while going for the immersion but after the immersion, it left the prescribed route and went through Muslim inhabited areas attacking Muslim houses on the way. The police officers did not stop the processionists from deviating from the prescribed route. In these attacks, no lives were lost, though much property was damaged.

But after this, incidents of stabbing spread rapidly. More people began to be killed. So far more than 70 people have been killed, according to reliable figures. More than 200 have been injured. The narrow winding lanes of old Hyderabad city are ideal for such attacks. The attacker can immediately disappear. The attacks are taking place from both sides. Most victims are poor and innocent people. Communal forces on both sides are having a field day while poor people are dying among both Muslims and Hindus. Communal and religious identities are being exploited for political ends. Extreme conservatism is being encouraged by both sides. The Majlis is also now taking out Pankha Julus which was unknown

(from Econ. & Pol. Weekly)

#### Assam

The Central government has sanctioned the assignment of a border commissioner to oversee the work of the construction of a barbed-wire fence across the Assam-Bangladesh borders despite repeated protests by the Bangladesh government.

In a related development, a 3-member team of the All Assam Students Union led by its general secretary Bhrigu Kumar Phukan was in Srinagar during the opposition meeting to canvass the opposition leaders about a proposed conference on

Assam to be held in November. Invitations have reportedly been delivered to 3 party presidents — Chandra Sekhar of Janata, HN Bahuguna of Democratic Socialist Party and Sharad Pawar of Sharad Congress and to Mir Qasim, the former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. Phukan was reported to have said that Indira Gandhi was utterly incapable of solving the foreigner's issue and he felt that it was disgraceful to live at the mercy of an individual or a party.

A contingent of forest employees recently swooped down on a group of shepherds grazing their herds in the jungles of the Khandwa district in southwestern Madhya Pradesh.

They allegedly beat up the shepherds, tied up two of them, snatched their money and tried to "drive away" the sheep from the reserved forest in which grazing is prohibited. The operation continued for six hours.

#### Killings in Rural Bihar

According to an investigative report by the Delhi based People's Union of Democratic Rights, private armies of landlords and the state police in Bihar killed at least 185 people in 3 year period starting Jan. 1980. According to the report, the victims were either political activists or peasants agitating for share of land, minimum wages, better employment and welfare opportunities. Of the 185 deaths, private armies of landlords have been responsible for 108 deaths. In several cases, the local police helped these armies flush out peasant organizers and shoot them down. Some of the recent killings occurred in Paras Bigha, Pipra, Maithila, Patna, Bluaha, and Chaibasa. In most cases, untouchables and lowest caste people were the most affected, their huts were burnt, female relatives raped, some of them were themselves gunned down by the goons of the landlords or the police. On a positive note, the report also observed that several rural organizations sprang up during this period to help the rural poor and downtrodden.

By the time the police reached the spot, 185 sheep were dead and two of the shepherds had to be hospitalized.

It is alleged that the forest employees were incensed by the shepherds' refusal to pay bribes for allowing their sheep, numbering around 10,000, to graze in the forest. They had allegedly demanded Rs 40,000 from the shepherds against the prescribed fee of one rupee a sheep for issuing transit passes.

## Housing the Poor the 20-Point Way

Their joy knew no bounds when more than 400 families of poor landless laborers in the Dhandhuka town, about 85 km from Ahmedabad, moved into dwellings constructed for them under Indira Gandhi's 20-point program.

That was on July 10. Within ten days, a heavy shower caused every one of the houses to collapse.

The proposal was attractive. Each family paid Rs 250 and the government put up Rs 3,000 for a one-room house, 10' by 8', with a cover of roofing tiles and a small verandah.

The taluka development officer told reporters that the residents were to be blamed for the collapse of the houses. He said they should have reinforced the brick walls with cowdung-and-mud plaster.

The residents told Aloke Chatterjee, the Indian Express reporter, that the contract had been given to a son of a former MLA. Not a speck of cement or lime was apparently used in fixing the bricks and stones in the houses.

#### Interview With S.N. Singh

[Following are excerpts from an interview with Satyanarain Singh, general secretary of PCC-CPI (ML), conducted by Ashim Mukhopadhyay of the Indian Express.]

Q: What in your opinion has led to the rise of regional parties? How far have they been able to fulfil the aspirations of the common man?

A: The emergence of regional political parties is a result of several factors. First, overcentralization of power in the hands of the central government has resulted in regional imbalances in economic, social and cultural fields. Secondly, from the point of view of administration, overcentralization has turned states into mere municipalities, always depending on New Delhi for their just and democratic demands. Thirdly, the failure of the national parties, including CPI and CPM, in providing a clean administration and better living conditions, has dismayed the broad masses of people, who in turn have lost faith in them. Fourthly, the emergence of regional parties in some states indicate that the people there were seeking a viable alternative to the class rule of big landlords and big bourgeoisie and their foreign imperialist masters. However, the class character of the regional parties indicate that they too are unable to provide a real alternative to Congress(1).

Q: In this context, how do you assess the Telugu Desam in Andhra? What is the attitude of your party to the agitation in Assam and Punjab?

A: As for Telugu Desam, it does represent the urge of the Telugu people for a more

#### Anti-Corruption Drive in Andhra

Andhra Chief Minister NT Rama Rao of Telugu Desam told the Assembly that the Anti-Corruption Bureau unearthed assets worth 5 million dollars in raids on the residents of 29 state government officials including one retired IAS officer and one now serving. Rao said that some of the officers had been suspended and the bureau was still investigating charges against others. According to Rao, the bureau had a list of over 800 officials of the forest, commercial taxes, nursery and other departments who were alleged to have been indulging in corrupt activities.

dignified and contented life which Cong(1) has failed to give them so far. However, we are not sure if N.T.Rama Rao will introduce any basic reform in the state. All movements can be called movements for regional autonomy or regional identity. They differ in character, content and form. The Akali movement in Punjab, we think, is by and large a democratic movement for regional autonomy and against years of injustice done to the state by the Congress governments. But we draw a distinction between the Akalis and the extremists led by Bhindranwale and Talwandi. Our party resolutely opposes the demand for Khalistan. As for Assam, the movement launched by AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad is led by upper caste chauvinists. It is not directed against the Center but against national and regional minorities. It is a movement that sets one community against another.

Q: About the National Democratic Alliance and the United Front?

A: Existence of two or three fronts will only strengthen the hands of Indira Gandhi and confuse the common man. We are neither in favor nor against the two recent alliances. But we do hope they will come together if they sincerely want to defeat Gandhi and fascism.

Q: What is your reaction to the Chinese Communist Party's recent stand regarding CPM?

A: We have opposed establishment of any fraternal relations between CPC and CPM. We consider the present development a politics of expediency and opportunism.

#### Strike in Bengal

A 24-hour Bandh was called on Sept. 28 by the CPM led Left Front government in West Bengal to press the Center for 18 demands including greater autonomy for the states. Clashes broke out between Indira Congress members and members of the nine leftist parties constituting the Left Front. About 2000 Indira Congress workers were reportedly arrested while trying to disrupt the Bandh. 2 persons, a Congress worker and a CPM supporter were killed and hundreds injured.

### **Bungled Surgery Kills Urdu Poet in New York**

Photograph Works the Mories William

JAVEED MIRZA

An Indian Urdu poet, Syed Zaki Haider Zaidi, popularly known as Zafar Zaidi, !ost his life after successfully donating his kidney to his sister. The operation for the kidney transplant and a subsequent operation to correct a surgical problem (hematoma) were both done at the Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York, by the same surgeon, Dr Joon H. Hong.

Zafar was 33 and had been living in New York for the last three years. He called his sister Syed Deedar Fatima Rizvi, suffering from a serious kidney ailment, to come to New York so that she could receive a transplant under what he thought to be the best of care and under the best of doctors. The sacrificing, "very popular and lovable person" then placed his life and his sister's on the doctor's table. And this was after depositing \$20,000 of the \$40,000 demanded, and the hospital authorities' reluctant assent after repeated pleas and guarantees of full pay-

Dr Khalid Butt, a Pakistani surgeon whom Zafar first approached examined both the donor and the recipient Mrs Rizvi. He also consulted Dr T.K.S.Rao, a nephrologist. In the words of Dr Rao, "There was a 100% match of both their tissues, which is very rare and the chances of success were 100%. Urine, blood, etc., tests were done and everything was fine." He added that Zaidi was a "very nice young man, quite healthy. ... He wanted to do everything he could to help his sister." Dr Butt operated on Rizvi while Dr Hong operated on Zafar.

Mushir Rizvi, a director in the ministry of agriculture, New Delhi, had come with his wife for the latter's transplant surgery. He gave a graphic description of the course of the operation.

"The operation was done on Wednesfor Zafar and 3.5 hours for my wife. Both patients were asked to walk next day as part of physical therapy. But Zafar complained of excessive pain and could not walk, while my wife could. We informed this to the doctor. Again next day Zafar complained of pain. The doctor decided to pass a tube through the mouth and through the rectum to see if there was any blood collection. But there was none. On Saturday, Dr Hong said it looked like there was a blood clot in the wound and would require surgery that night. It was also necessary to give Zafar blood transfusion as the blood count was dropping. He wanted my permission. I said it was for him to decide and it was ridiculous for him to ask me for another permission. (I would be blamed if I said No). But on Saturday night nothing was done. Dr Butt came and told us it was to be a minor correction and the operation would be for about 45 minutes. On Sunday October 9 at about 2:30 PM, Zafar was taken in for the second surgery. After a very anxious wait of four and a half hours, he was

brought out at 7 PM. Dr Hong explained that something had gone wrong during the surgery. Zafar's blood pressure had dropped from normal to zero and the oxygen supply had been cut. The machine that was supposed to alert the doctors failed to do so; only when he saw the chart did he notice that the heart had stopped. Immediate resuscitation was done and the heart reactivated. Dr Hong added that it was however not a cause to worry as the oxygen supply stoppage had occurred for less than a minute and so it was not serious. The doctor also hinted that the problem could have been due to an overdose of anesthesia. Zafar was still attached to the respiratory machine until the 13th, when the machine was stopped and he was pronounced dead."

On being asked what he thought was the cause of the failure, Mushir said, "I suspect the first operation was not done well; the doctors delayed the second operation. No blood transfusion was given on Saturday night. My other doctor friends told me Zafar was dehydrated. I also learned that it was a junior doctors' team that did the surgery. So I would blame the total surgical mismanagement and the operating team for the failure."

Zaidi came from Unnao, near Kanpur. He studied Law at the Aligarh Muslim University and worked for some time as a public prosecutor at Unnao. He had gone to Dubai for a few years before he came to New York city. He was single.

Zaidi's funeral was attended by about 300 people. Glowing tributes were paid to the sensitive poet's personality. The body was flown back to India for burial.

Dr Khalid Butt, on being asked to comment on the case, declined to say anything except that he was sorry for the tragedy; that it had never occurred in the over 300 surgeries done by him. He added hat the case should only be considered to be an "accident." In spite of repeated tries, Dr Hong was not available for his comments. The hospital authorities remained tight-lipped. The information officer would only say, "The case is under review." The autopsy report is also a blank until now.

A claim has been filed on Zaidi's behalf against the state of New York (the hospital being state-owned). The lawyer, Gerald Miller, said they were obtaining hospital records and then a malpractice suit against the hospital and individual doctors might be filed.

One can only urge that this humanmade accident (sheer mismanagement and incompetence) cannot be allowed to go scotfree, otherwise it would be pardoning the murder of a sincere, sacrificing young man.

Contributions may be sent to: Adabi Sangam Inc. 136-80 Roosevelt Ave Flushing NY 11354

#### Consultation of the Socred Kind

RAJ CHOUHAN President, CFU

Reason and justice do not prevail in the face of backroom deals and political favors. A year and a half ago, the Socred minister of agriculture threatened the head of WCB with firing if he upset farmers with pesticide regulations. It is obvious to us that THAT threat still stands.

Farmworkers do not believe that the citizens of British Columbia support this discrimination. We believe that the contempt this government has shown for our lives is repulsive to British Columbia. We also believe that farmworkers are only the first to be attacked. If the Socreds get away with this, they will try attacking the health and safety of other work-

We urge concerned citizens to speak out. Call your MLA's. Write to the Ministry of Labor and make it cear that human life is not worthless in BC.

We can only win equality when this

government gets that message loud and clear. In the memory of a 19-year-old farmworker, let us all work together to put an end to this bitter harvest.

In October 1982, Jarmail Deol, a 19year-old farmworker, died of pesticide poisoning. The Workers' Compensation Board responded quickly and it appeared as if Jarnail would not have died in vain. The Board set up a consultative committee of farmers, farmworkers and board staff to negotiate regulations on the use of pesticides on BC farms. After three months of this consultation, realistic regulations were agreed on that could have saved Jarnail's life. This consultative committee, with representatives from the largest trade unions and industries in the province, unanimously recommended that these regulations go to public hearing. At last we could see action to stop the daily poisonings of ourselves and our children. However the Board said NO! NO public

## IMMIGRANT NEWS

#### O'Neill Says Alien Bill is Dead SH

**Hispanic Sentiment Responsible** 

At a news briefing on Oct. 4, US house speaker Tip O'Neill said that it is very unlikely that the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration Bill that was passed by the Senate few months ago will be voted this year in the House. According to a report in the New York Times, the House Democratic leadership had blocked the bill because of the fear that US President Reagan would veto the bill to woo the Hispanic voters who oppose the measures. The report further revealed that Tip O'Neill had reportedly told the Attorney General William French Smith that O'Neill had "irrefutable evidence" that Reagan planned to veto the bill.

Smith had reportedly denied the accusation; according to him, Reagan was in favor of the bill. Later the White House also issued a statement saying any decision on the bill would be made on the basis of the merits of the bill, not on the basis of politics.

According to some political observers, the bill may not come to the House floor until 1985, because 1984 being an election year, any bill which would cost Democrats and Republicans votes is unlikely to be voted upon.

Many Hispanic groups believe that the Bill is discriminatory to Hispanics. In particular, they have objected to the bill because of the employer sanction provisions against the illegal hiring of illegal aliens and the system to be used for identifying legal aliens.

#### Gandhi's Address to the UN

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi arrived in New York last Monday to address the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly as the chairperson of the nonaligned movement of 101 nations and organizations from Africa, Latin America and Asia. She addressed the United Nations on Wednesday Sept 28. Some excerpts from Indira Gandhi's speech: talking about the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, the US and Soviet Union, Gandhi said "This relentless search for ever-increasing barbaric weapons systems is undertaken in the name of security. India and other nonaligned countries are convinced that only general and complete disarmament can provide real and endur-

Talking on behalf of third world countries, Gandhi said, "The other major theme of the nonaligned countries is the development. We are largely poor and technologically backward. Even the handful of the rich amongst us are not technologically-self-reliant. Most of us have become free from colonial rule only in the last 3 to 35 years. Our national freedom is new; our national unities need to be consolidated. Freedom itself release long pent-up hopes and yearning for

In this age of instant globe-encircling information technology, the media dazzle eyes and fill ears with images and reports of affluence. Even the modest expectations of our people are far beyond our present means. Besides we are hard put to preserve our independence because of the many economic, political and military

She added "The present world economic order is based on domination and inequality. The basic aim of the program drawn up in New Delhi at the 7th nonaligned summit was to strengthen the economies of the weak nations. We outlines a mechanism to pool our own technological resources, a South-South dialog as a supplement to the North-South one.

hearings, NO regulations, NO safety, NO

This government says we don't need confrontation to win justice. They tell us that we can win with consultation, cooperation and compromise. Well, to farmworkers and other workers in this province, this consultation exercise has proved one thing. Consultation is a FARCE.

#### 60,000 Protest Socred Policies in BC

Our Vancouver Correspondent

More than 60,000 people demonstrat-

ed in Vancouver outside the ruling Social Credit Party's convention on October 15 to protest government policies against workers and minorities. The photo shows banners of the Canadian Farmworkers Union and the BC Organization to Fight We also indicated some immediate measures, the most important of which was the convening of a conference on money and finance for development."

Gandhi reiterated that the cooperation of the developed nations was necessary. "To help developing countries is no mere largesse. What better investment can the North make in its own future than by turning today's deprived of the South into tomorrow's consumers. Why should these countries be afraid of the demands of the weak? it is time for bolder moves in trade, financial and technological cooperation and a daring new initiative to eliminate global poverty by the end of the century." Gandhi stressed that she would continue to prod the de-

veloped countries to enter global negotiations on the economy.

Gandhi was scheduled to initiate an informal dialog on disarmament, peace and economic order with 40 heads of states on Tuesday and Thursday to which she had invited US President Reagan and his Russian counterpart Andropov both of whom had decided not to attend. The details of these meetings were not known

The day Gandhi arrived in New York she met with US President Reagan at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel first privately for 15 minutes and later along with aides for another 25 minutes. An Indian spokesperson described the meeting as cordial and friendly. He said that President Reagan had expressed his appreciation for Mrs. Gandhi's taking the initiative in efforts to attain "international stability." On nuclear arms race, both leaders agreed that the reduction of nuclear weapons should be a first step towards achieving world

Later Gandhi met with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

## 

#### **Assam Association Demands**

The Assam Association of North America has demanded the dismissal of the Congress(1) government in Assam and imposition of the President's rule. They also called upon the central government to solve the immigration problem there. The association submitted a memorandum to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during her visit to the United Nations and expressed their concerns to Prime Minister's principal secretary PG Alexander.

Among the demands the association had included, removal of all restrictions on the movement of journalists to and from and inside Assam, an immediate end to what they called the campaign of ruthless repression against the Assamese people and the care and resettlement of the refugees throughout India. It also asked the Indian government for a time table for dealing with the problems of im-

#### Sixth Plan at Mid-Point:

#### **Way Behind Targets**

The much-awaited Midterm Appraisal of the Sixth Plan has served to emphasize not so much the failure of the Plan as its irrelevance by and large.

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Failures and shortfalls there have been plenty of, something which the Planning Commission's verbal obfuscations fail to quite conceal. Reviewing the first three years of the Plan, the Midterm Appraisal claims that over this period "there have been many areas of success in our Plan programs," though "there are a few specific areas where our achievements fall short of our goals." Some of the areas of success mentioned are newsprint, low- and high-density polyethylene, paper and paper board, DMT, different types of synthetic fibers and yarns, and passenger cars. On the other hand, the few specific areas where there have been shortfalls include power, coal, rail transport and, in industry, steel, nonferrous metals, basic chemicals like caustic soda, soda ash and sulfuric acid, power cables and electrical transformers and "the electronics sector generally." Further, the annual rate of growth of gross

investment (in real terms) in the first three years of the Plan was 4.5% against the Plan's expectation of 9%; that of public sector investment was 8% compared to the target of 16.5%; and that of domestic savings was 6.7% instead of 09.2%.

About the only area where notable success can be established is production of crude petroleum, but this achievement has been possible only because, in the face of the balance of payments stresses generated by the IMF-induced "opening out of the economy," the government chose to dump the Sixth Plan's program for the petroleum sector and go hell for leather to push up crude production, in the process incurring an outlay of Rs 68 billion on the petroleum sector in the Plan's first four years compared to the provision of Rs 43 billion for the full fiveyear period (which has moved even the Planning Commission to register the bashful protest that "our limited economically extractable resources should be exploited with some degree of caution").

(from Econ. & Pol. Weekly)

## Is India Paying Too Much for Non-Resident Investments?

India's foreign exchange reserves have risen by Rs 2.3 billion in the first four months of 1983-84, exclusive of IMF loans. During the previous financial year, reserves fell by Rs 10 billion, exclusive of IMF loans. According to Swaminathan S.Aiyar, writing in the Indian Express, the figures do not show a fabulous improvement in the economy but rather a dangerous new trend that could pose serious problems in the years ahead.

The reserves have risen primarily because of the flood of bank deposits and company deposits from nonresidents following the budget, which cut income tax on nonresident investment, increased the maximum interest on nonresidents' bank deposits to 13%, and permitted investment in company deposits yielding 15%.

These measures had been proposed

almost two years ago, when world interest rates were 17-20%. Since then these rates have fallen to nearly 10% by now but the Indian government is offering 13% and more.

Aiyar points out that IMF loans are at 8-9% per year and Asian Development Bank loans are at 10% a year. He suggests linking the interest rates paid to nonresident investors to rates prevailing in international markets.

Aiyar also says the balance of payments is somewhat misleading since we still import more than we export. In 1982-83, the trade gap was over Rs 53 billion. Unless this gap is eliminated, the balance of payments may become very bad when it is time to repay the loans from IMF, from commercial banks and from nonresidents.

# Govt to Seek Greater Control over Foreign Contributions

The government is planning to amend the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act of 1976 and tighten the monitoring of funds that a number of organizations receive from abroad, according to a report in the Indian Express. The move is said to be directed at money coming in from the Arab countries as well as the West.

The government is also planning to computerize the information; the present information with the government is only upto 1978, when over 4,000 organizations reported receiving over Rs 2 billion – about Rs 500 million from West Germany, Rs 300 million from the US, and Rs 160 million from Britain.

Clause 4 of the present Act prohibits acceptance of foreign contributions by candidates, reporters, columnists, cartoonists, editors, publishers of newspa-

pers, government employees, legislators, political parties and their office—bearers. Section 5 provides that no political organization can accept any foreign money without prior permission from the government. Under this provision, the government requires 141 organizations, mostly mass organizations and trade unions affiliated with political parties besides independent groups such as the People's Union for Civil Liberties and Anand Marg, to get government approval before receiving funds from abroad.

The government reportedly plans to add more organizations to the list and also prohibit the transfer of money received for a specific purpose to some other. One objective is said to be to discourage conversions to Islam, allegedly financed by Arab contributions.

#### IG Patel New Head of London School of Economics

Former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, IG Patel has been named as the next director of the London School of Economics. The School has an international reputation for being in the forefront of economic research. Patel, 60, is currently the director of the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad. He has served in various capacities in the Ministry of Finance and has represented India at the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

#### **Electronics Commission**

STRANGE ROUTE TO SELF-RELIANCE

Don't compare us with South Korea, Taiwan or the Philippines. Our electronics industry is not import-oriented. We want to be self-reliant.

While our policymakers seem to derive comfort from the Indian industry being unlike that of South Korea, they overlook the very much higher level of sophistication of the electronics industry in that country. Also, the South Korean electronic industry has been expanding over the last ten years at annual rates which we in India have failed to achieve over the entire five-year period just ended.

Much more important than the rate of growth are the range of items South Korea produces currently in electronics. South Korea has been in the field of integrated circuitry for some years already; semi-conductors are today one of its major export items in electronics. On the other hand, the one state-owned semi-conductor complex that has been around for over five years is still in the process of

## India's Borrowings from World Bank

A World Bank report revealed that Indian government was the third largest borrower from the Bank during the last fiscal year which ended June 30. India's 8 loans amounted to over 1 billion dollars. Brazil had the maximum borrowings, approximately 1.5 billion dollars followed by Indones'a with 1.3 billion dollars.

Indian government was the main recipient of aid from the International Development Association which gives interest—free loans; most of India's loans were from this association.

negotiating the import of appropriate technology.

It will be interesting to be told in which field of electronics we in India are less dependent, and still equally uptodate in technology, than South Korea. The fact has to be faced squarely that our electronics industry is not only technologywise backward but also among the least self-reliant and it has been so principally because of the failure of the Electronics Commission to live up to the tasks it was assigned.

The commission has thrived on preparing policy blueprints and regulating others. The result is that it has little to show except that we produce electronic goods worth Rs 10 billion to meet the demands of a highly protected market with a technology that is mostly outdated. Is it any wonder that for each and every sophisticated requirement, be it in defense, communications, space or industry we are altogether dependent, much more than South Korea for instance on imported technology and equipment?

(from Econ. & Pol. Weekly)

## Maruti Jeep a Threat to Mahindras

The new Maruti jeep, being produced in collaboration with Suzuki of Japan, has reportedly done so much better than the jeep produced by Mahindra and Mahindra that the latter's Jonga is in danger of being supplanted by Maruti.

According to some reports from a Himalayan car rally, the Maruti jeep consumed just a third as much gasoline as the Jonga. In the plains, the Maruti jeep gives 13–14 km a liter, twice as good as the Jonga. The price of the Maruti vehicle is somewhat lower than of the Mahindras!

#### Floods Ravage Northern India

KISHAN BAJWA Another 100 People Killed

Floods and heavy rains have once again ravaged most of Northern India during the months of September and October. Over 1000 people have been killed and hundreds of thousands affected with most losing their dwellings and belongings. During September alone, as many as 800 people have died with UP the most affected state. Thousands of villages in at least 8 states have been affected. Torrential rains during October have flooded over 850 villages in UP and killed over 40 people.

The situation in Ballia district in UP was pretty grim in September with over 700 villages under the rising waters of the Ganges. In UP alone, over 5 million people were affected by floods during September. Over 125 people died in Sikkim because of devastation caused by land-slides due to heavy rains. In Maharashtra, over 60 people died when 5 villages in Nanded district were under the water of Godavari. 500 villages are under the

waters in Bihar.

Several areas of Assam were cut off for over 15 days because of floods in Brahmaputra and its major tributaries. Over 50 people have died recently because of floods there. The situation was equally grim in West Bengal The floodings of the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra have affected upto 1.2 million people and destroyed crops worth millions of dollars during the last two months.

Tens of million people have been affected because of the floods this year since. The death toll due to floods and cyclone this year is over 2000 people; the loss of property is in tens of billions of rupees.

According to a report in the New York Times, in 1982 also, floods resulted in the deaths of over 1800 people, affected 85 million acres of land and resulted in a loss of over Rs 17 billion.

#### Cyclone Kills Over 100 in

#### Andhra

A cyclone hit the northern coastal region of Andhra in early October leaving at least 100 people dead and damaging extensively crops in 8 districts. Thousands of people have been made homeless. Andhra Chief Minister NT Rama Rao estimated the damage to property and crops to be over Rs 5 billion.

Addressing a gathering at Warangal on Oct. 8, Rama Rao blamed the central government for stepmotherly treatment to non-Congress ruled states in releasing funds especially during natural calamities. He said that the Center was creating an atmosphere in which states had to beg the center for everything. Earlier Rao wrote to Gandhi urging her to release an advance assistance fund of Rs 300 million to his government for flood works. Gandhi announced that the center would

provide Rs 100 million, 1/3 of what the state government had requested.

#### Rubber Prices Shoot Up

The sharp increase in recent months in the international price of natural rubber has raised the price of domestic rubber to a high level too, though a normal supply-demand situation is said to exist within the country. International prices have risen by 60% to an all-time high. So has domestic rubber, which hit Rs 21,000 a ton in May.

At this price, rubber consumers, among whom are a large number of small-scale units, are finding their survival difficult. According to a report in the Economic and Political Weekly, many small-scale units suspended their production in May. It is also reported that the profits from the higher prices do not go to the growers but only to the middlemen.

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

#### World Energy Conference in Delhi

The 12th World Energy Conference began in New Delhi, India on Sept. 18. Delegates from 70 countries and representatives of various international organizations including the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the European Economic Commission, and International Atomic Energy Agency are participating. The Indian government refused to allow the representatives from Israel and South Africa as India does not have diplomatic relations with the two countries. Because of this, the US government is also boycotting the conference. The US Energy Secretary Donald Hodel cancelled his trip to India for participation in the conference. He also ordered the energy department personnel

#### **Nobel Prize for** Chandrasekhar

(continued from page 1)

the lecture, is reported to have completely disbelieved this calculation, openly and loudly. It was only years later that the concept of black holes and of neutron stars, both formed from the collapse of massive stars bigger than the sun, has become a foundation of modern astrophys-

Prof. Chandrasekhar is reported to have commented, after the Nobel prize was announced, that "Usually my work has become appreciated only after some length of time."

In the late 1930's, he moved to the University of Chicago, where he has since spent his scientific career. His pioneering work on statistical physics, including the theories of stochastic and Markov processes in the 1940's, established solid foundations for the whole subject, on which others could build. In the 1950's, he entered the field of magnetohydrodynamics, the phenomenon of the turbulent flow of electrically conducting fluids. By the early 1960's he produced the definitive treatise on the subject, which is the starting point for any serious researcher in the field. There is an aphorism among theoreticians that when "Chandra" enters a field, all others leave it! For they know that their own effort will be superseded very soon.

Prof. Chandrasekhar has maintained his connection with India over the years. The author recalls the privilege of hearing his lectures several times, while a student and later as a researcher, in Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore. However, one cannot claim him as an Indian physicist, as one could his uncle, C.V.Raman, the only other person of Indian origin to win a Nobel prize in physics, since his entire productive scientific life has been spent abroad. That, however, should not prevent Indians from being justly proud of this honor bestowed on a compatriot of Indian origin.

of any rank not to attend the conference.

Explaining its decision regarding not allowing Israeli delegates to the conference, an Indian foreign ministry official said, "It is part of how we view Israel's actions and the situation in the Middle East and the continued occupation of the Arab land and the nonacceptance and violation of the UN resolutions."

At the opening session of the conference; Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi indirectly criticized the US accusing it of obstructing India's nuclear power program which she asserted, was not for military objectives. She also said that India does not possess the nuclear bomb. "We are opposed to nuclear weapons and do not have any."

#### House Bill for Ban on Nuclear Plants

The United States House of Representatives voted measures seeking to bar the export of nuclear-related materials to countries that do not fulfill their conditions. If passes, it may affect supply of spare parts to India for the Tarapur Atomic power plant.

#### **Higher Octane Fuel** Introduced

The government has increased the octane rating of all gasoline sold in the country from 83 to 87. The Petroleum Ministry says the higher rating will result in more efficient use of fuel. Prices have been raised by 10 paise a liter, a 2% in-

Critics say that the increased fuel efficiency cannot be achieved by the cars and scooters on the road now. Only the Maruti car, to be introduced next year, can run efficiently on fuel with an 87 rating. Fiat and Ambassador cars have a compression ratio of 7.5 and need the 83rated fuel for best performance, according to the critics.

As for scooters, which now consume 55% of gasoline, the compression ratio may be as low as 6 or 5.5.

The government decision was apparently influenced by the fact that nine out of 12 refineries now have fluid catalytic crackers and reformers, which produce higher octane fuel as byproducts. The price increase is expected to yield an additional Rs 200 million a year to the gov-

#### Harish Chandra, Mathematician, Passes Away

DINAKAR RAMAKRISHNAN

Professor Harish-Chandra, a towering figure in mathematics at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, died of a heart attack on Sunday, October 16, at the age of sixty. His work was central in the development of the theory of infinite-dimensional group representations, a field which originated from physics in the thirties and which has deep connections to geometry and number theory as well.

Dr Harish-Chandra, a native of Kanpur, studied at Allahabad University, then spent a year at the Institute of Science in Bangalore, and later went to Cambridge, England. There he received his doctorate in physics under the direction of P.A.M.Dirac. He soon started studying the so-called Lorentz group, which embodies all the four-dimensional symmetries leaving the "space-time length" invariant. The representations of this group give a way to describe the physical state relative to the Lorentz frame.

In 1949 Harish-Chandra arrived as Dirac's assistant at the Princeton Insti-

tute, which then had Einstein, Weyl and Von Neumann on the faculty. His interests turned progressively towards mathematics, and he began immersing himself in the study of unitary representations of Lie groups (so named after the 19th century mathematician Sophus Lie, pronounced Lee). Lie groups are vast eralizations of the Lorentz group. The fifties and sixties saw great leaps of progress in the field due to him. After teaching for several years at Columbia, he returned in the early sixties to the Institute, where he remained until his death.

Harish-Chandra was shy of publicity and was an incredibly hard worker. He always directed his energies towards solving specific problems. His stress was on originality and he often cautioned young mathematicians against readily absorbing the ideas of established men-

He had a long history of heart problems and narrowly survived a stroke a few months ago. He leaves behind his wife Lalitha and daughters Prema and

#### Bhabha Award for Ramanathan, **Number Theorist**

The Indian National Science Academy has selected Prof. K.G.Ramanathan for the Homi Bhabha Medal, 1984, for his contributions in the field of number theory, particularly in the analytic and associated zeta functions.

Prof. Ramanathan has been among

the administrative leaders of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. He is credited with playing a role in promoting mathematics research in India. Recently, he has been studying the famous arithmetic theory of quadratic forms and mathematician Ramanujan's work in an attempt to understand it from a m viewpoint.

> Among the others honored were Prof. P.N.Mehra, awarded the Sunderlal Hora Medal, and Prof. Govind Swarup, given the P.C.Mahalanobis Medal. The Sisir Kumar Mitra lecturership has been awarded to Prof. Asima Chatterjee.

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#### Insat-1B Working Well

The meteorological cameras of the INSAT-1B, the space satellite put into orbit by the space shuttle Challenger for India were turned on Sept. 24; this was according to a spokesperson for the Ford Aerospace and Communications, the company which built the satellite for the Indian government. The spokesperson Susan Frutkin added, "The cameras on both the visual and infrared bands were working well. We now have a full functioning satellite." She added, "When the testing ends and when the satellite is put into practical use is upto the Indians." According to K. Ponnappan, a spokesperson for the Indian Space and Research Organization, INSAT-1B would probably go into use in the second week of Oct. He did say that the ISRO team in Palo Alto was not getting much feedback from India on the success of the satellite but he was sure that "they are as happy as we are about it."

It is India's second attempt to put into operation a longlife telecommunication satellite. The first one INSAT-1A had to be shut down soon after it went into space because its solar sail and boom could not fully be deployed. This time also, a similar trouble developed with the solar panels as it failed to extend into space when the signal was sent from the ground in India. According to a report in the New York Times, engineers from the Ford Aerospace attempted to free the solar gear by trying to jog the panel loose by firing the satellite's thruster jet, but failed. Later they succeeded in unleashing the panel by tilting the satellite so that the sunlight could hit it more directly, warming the metal parts that held the solar panel frozen to the side of the sat-

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BALRAJ PURI

Syed Mir Qasim's resignation from Congress(1) and its Parliamentary board may not cause many changes in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir or of the country. But it does symbolize some important developments.

Mir Qasim is the seniormost leader of the second generation of the political movement in the state. The galaxy of leadership that initiated the movement in 1931 under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah was vertically split in 1953 on the question of the finality of the state's accession to India. Those who accepted its finality came to power, with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, G.M.Sadiq and Mir Qasim succeeding one another.

Oasim had to give up the chief ministership in 1975 when, as a result of the accord between the Indian government and Sheikh Abdullah, power was handed over to the latter. Qasim's major contribution to the transition was his cooperation and sacrifice. He did not cause it, he represented it.

Those who had ruled the state during Abdullah's detention or wilderness from 1953 to 1975 were treated by the Sheikh and his vast followers as usurpers and enemies of Kashmir. Qasim became an exception; which he considered as his most precious political asset.

While the two parties did have a

#### Vaipavee on Reagan

BJP president Atal Behari Vajpayee is reported to have criticized the Reagan administration for not insuring the safe landing facilities for the Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko who was to attend the annual session of the United Nations general assembly in New York. Vajpayee said that the Indian government should have lodged a strong protest to the Minister Indira Gandhi should have cancelled her visit to New York as a protest against the United States' failure to discharge its duties as host to the United Nations. Vajpayee also criticized US president Reagan's attack on the nonaligned movement saying, "there is no doubt that some members of the movement are pro-Soviet. But it should not be forgotten that many are also pro-American. It would be wrong to damn the entire movement or

#### **BJP Wins Delhi Student Union Elections**

The Janata Vidyarthi Morcha (JVM), the student wing of BJP, swept the Delhi University Students Union elections held in September. This is the fourth consecutive-year the JVM is winning the DUSU elections

Anil Soni was elected president, Balram Yadav as vice-president, Naresh Sharma as secretary and Mira Aggarwal as joint-secretary.

#### **Bumping of Air Passengers**

Airlines flying out of India overbook routinely and individual passengers, particularly those who have bought tickets abroad, face the threat of being offloaded even when they report more than two hours before departure time, according to a report in the Indian Express by K.R. Wadhwaney.

During August-September, the airlines book three types of passengers - groups, individuals buying tickets abroad, and individuals buying locally.

It is reported that the groups are treated best and individuals buying tickets abroad are the most likely to be bumped from their flights. The bumping takes place even if the tickets have OK stickers on them indicating confirmation of the seats.

coalition government in the state from 1975 to 1977, there was no commitment on either side to remain permanent political allies. During the partnership days, Qasim became a union minister. But when the Congress government fell in 1977 and the party withdrew its support to the Sheikh in the state assembly, Qasim's role started declining.

After Indira Gandhi's return to power, Congress(1) started asserting its presence in the state. The only role Qasim was fit to play during the Congress(1)-National Conference confrontation was to counsel patience on both sides.

The tempo started rising sharply after the death of Sheikh Abdullah in September 1982 and reached its peak in the elections this past June. The absence of the colossus might have emboldened Cong(1) to aspire for power. On the other hand, the "orphaned" Kashmiris rallied more nervously around their young leader Faroog to "save" Kashmir from "domination" of Delhi.

An electoral alliance between the two parties could not and should not have taken place. While the anti-Cong(1) campaign in Kashmir rationalized and sublimated anti-India sentiments, the anti-National Conference campaign rationalized and sublimated Hindu communalism. In the event of an alliance the ground would have been left vacant for the revival of extremists in both regions.

But Qasim persisted in his arguments for an alliance of "secular and nationalist" forces. True to himself, Qasim did not participate in the election campaign of the party.

Qasim also seems disillusioned with other aspects of the policies of Congress(1) and its leader - her domestic policies, from the conduct of elections in Assam to the Garhwal by-election, stiffing the democratic functioning of the Congress(1) organization.

Qasim has no effective role as a state leader. At the national level, his close allies are the leftist parties and the United Front. Should they need a common coordinator, he would be a willing candi-

Though it remains unsaid, Qasim would legitimately aspire to represent and encourage the current drift of the community away Congress(I). He symbolizes the trend towards consolidation of the subnational identities - minorities, regional, etc. - on the left of center side of Indian politics. But as he is unlikely to have a political instrument of his own or join a party, he can hardly create new trends. But such trends can find in him a fit symbol and

#### Response to the United Front

The United Front of the Janata party, Democratic Socialist Party of Bahuguna, Sharad Congress and Rashtriya Congress of Ratubhai Adani is getting only lukewarm support. The National Conference leader Dr. Farooq Abdullah has come out in support of the front, the Janwadi party headed by Charanjit Yadav is also likely to support it. But the Telugu have decided not to join it. Telugu Desam leader Rama Rao made inconsistent statements to the effect that his party would remain above all fronts and that his party would join a front only when all opposition parties are united. Like CPM, CPI's national council welcomed the formation of the front Jagjivan Congress has decided not to join either of the two alliances-the United Front and the National Democratic Alliance. The working committee of the group decided however to make electoral adjustments at local levels when the elections are held.

Certain sections of the Janata party

are not happy with the front and its president Chandra Sekhar either. Most prominent among them are Dr. Subramanyam Swamy and Morarji Desai who say that they were not consulted and also that they were afraid that CPI and CPM may join the front. Swamy was quoted by the Hindustan Times as saying that both he and Desai feared that the front may not instead it might be tilted towards the Soviet Union.

In a related development, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and the National Conference Leader Dr. Faroog Abdullah has invited BJP and the Lok Dal for the opposition conclave to be held in Srinagar. Dr. Abdullah reportedly extended the invitations because of pressure of Telugu Desam president NT Rama Rao who refused to attend the meeting if the two groups were not invited. The CPI and CPM have refused to sit on the same platform as the BJP.

### **Opposition Meeting** at Srinagar

Meanwhile, in its third meeting at Srinagar, leaders of 16 opposition parties stressed that the imposition of the central government's rule in Punjab alone could not solve the state's problems. They called upon the Gandhi government to find an early political solution to problems of Punjab.

In a resolution adopted at the end of a 3-day conference the opposition conclave which was attended by 5 chief ministers, warned the Gandhi government against attempts to topple elected governments in states.

The National Conference leader and Jammu and Kashmir chief minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah said that the national unity and integrity were their most cherished goals but they could be achieved only by harmonizing the contending needs of the people in different regions.

The BJP and Lok Dal did not attend the opposition summit. BJP had not attended the second meeting held in Delhi. The next meeting is scheduled to be held in Calcutta sometime during December or early January.

#### Railway Ministers in Quarrel

The Railways Minister, A.B.A.Ghani Khan Choudhury, is now at loggerheads with his minister of state, C.K. Jaffer Sharief.

Sharief has refused to see any files since he was deprived of some plum portfolios such as overseas railway construction. His office sends back all files unopened, with the comment that they be sent direct to Choudhury.

Sharief stayed away from Parliament for most of its monsoon session, going away on a private visit to Saudi Arabia.

#### Interstate Medical Seat **Exchange Illegal**

The Supreme Court has declared as illegal the reciprocal arrangement among certain state governments to exchange medical seats for "national integration."

Some students who had secured high marks had challenged the exchange system because the state governments had absolute power to nominate certain candidates for the MBBS course in other states and this power was used to reward sons and daughters of persons belonging to the ruling party or high government officers.

#### Who Rules Sikkim?

Sikkim, it would appear, is virtually being administered by its governor rather than by the elected head of government. It is the governor, Homi J.H.Taleyarkhan, who makes most of the policy statements and announces schemes concerning the state after personal consultations with various central ministers. Sometimes, as on July 2 in New Delhi, he even convenes press conferences to counter Chief Minister Bhandari's views and to justify some of Delhi's decisions on Sikkim.

On July 29, Indira Gandhi chose to visit Sikkim at the governor's invitation, ignoring the request of both the chief minister and the state cabinet that the visit be postpone by three months.

Congress(I) has 27 MLAs in a house of 32, but Bhandari and 16 others had been elected initially on the platform of a regional party, the Sikkim Janata Parishad, and had first entered the Assembly as bitter critics of the Center.



#### Gulf Malayalees Protest Air India

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